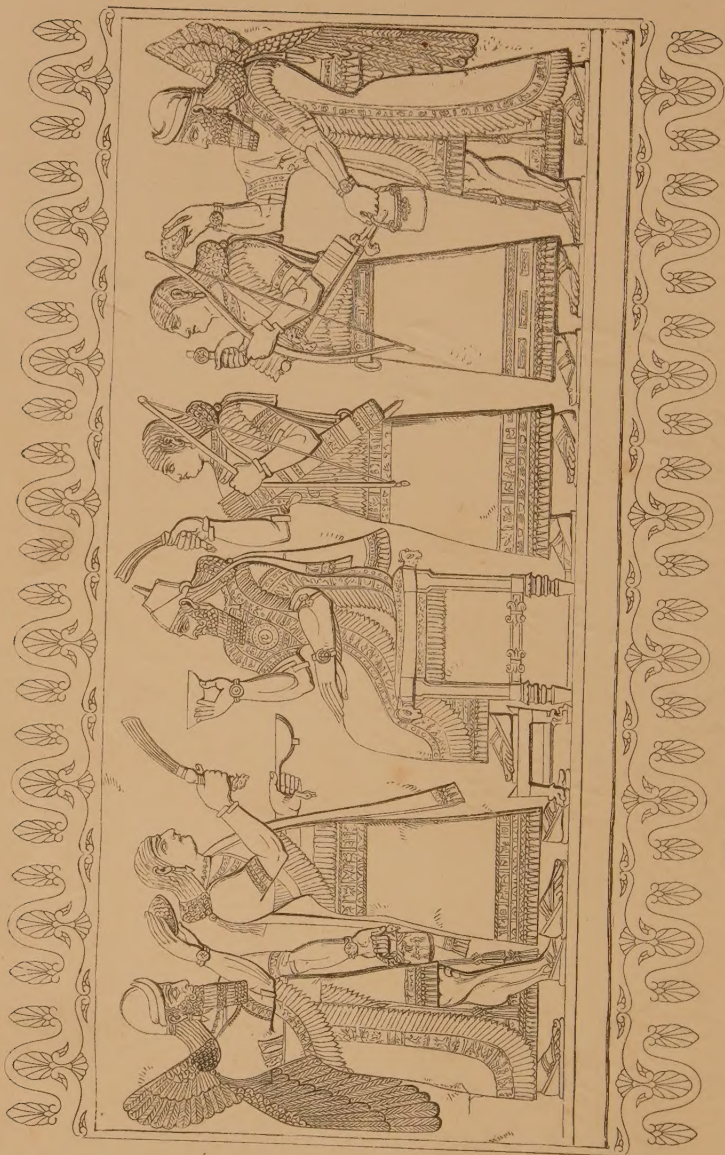

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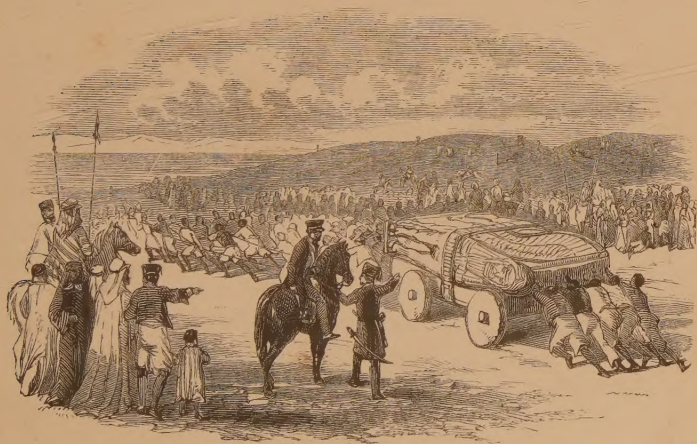
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THE KING ON HIS THRONE ATTENDED BY EUNUCHS AND WINGED FIGURES.

THE
BURIED CITY OF THE EAST:
NINEVEH.



PROCESSION OF THE WINGED BULL

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

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PREFACE.

WHEN the news reached England that Mr. Layard had found the long lost Nineveh, and was opening its buried palaces to the light, very great and general interest was excited. It seemed as if the Nineveh of the Bible were about to be once more restored for the contemplation of the Christian inquirer, and the Nineveh of the classics laid bare to modern gaze, to verify the faith of the scholar in the older historians. Mr. Layard's book, when published, realized these anticipations. A city buried for more than twenty centuries offered its remains for comparison with the aspects of modern London or Paris; and the sculptured monuments of a bygone race rose up to offer a contrast with the works of modern art. Whilst this was the case in England, the French were almost equally interested, for they, too, had a diligent inquirer, Monsieur Botta, in Assyria, digging and discovering and sending home the spoils of superb ancient edifices to increase the treasures of the Louvre. The English investigator had worked with limited funds supplied from private sources; the Frenchman, more fortunate, enjoyed the generous sympathies and liberal pecuniary aid of his government. Layard's story of his trials and successes was given

CHAPTER V.

	PAGE
Banks of the Tigris—The Mound of Khorsabad—Its Situation—The Wall of Nineveh—The Mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus—Their Extent and Relative Position—The Mound of Nimroud—Its present Resemblance to Xenophon's Descriptions—The Mounds of Karumles and Kalah Shergat.	70

CHAPTER VI.

Layard at Nineveh—His Arrival at Naifa—His speedy Arrangements for Exploration, and immediate success—Visits the Pasha of Mósul—The Dangers attendant on his Task—A Shifting of Quarters—His Proceedings Interdicted by the Pasha—Departs from Nimroud—Visits Baghdad—Returns to the Mound and continues his Excavations—A New Interdict—Discovery of the Bas-relief of Nisroch, and Colossal Head—Further Proceedings Stopped, and the Workmen Discharged—Layard and the Sheikhs—Excursion to the Camp of the Shammar Tribe—Gives a Three Days' Feast at Nimroud—Recall of Ismael Pasha, and Appointment of Tahyas Pasha as his Successor—His Attention to Layard—Obstruction to his Operations through the Heats of Summer—Hunting Excursions with the Natives—Despatch of the Grand Vizier of the Sultan—Opening of the Great Mound of Kouyunjik—A rich Collection of Sculptures—Their Embarkation and Transport to Baghdad—Further Interruptions at Nimroud—Layard's Return to Mósul—Reorganization of a Band of Workmen at Nimroud—Layard again among the Ruins—Alacrity of the Arabs—Layard's Impartiality in the Character of an Arbitrator—Rapid Uncovery of the Buried Treasures—His Exploit against the Thieving Arabs—Embarkation of the Black Marble Obelisk—Examination of the Mounds of Kalah Shergat—The Friendly Jebours—Removal of the Lion and Bull from Nimroud—The various Operations necessary—Procession of the Winged Bull—The Embarkation—Strike of the Jebour Workmen—Layard's ultimate Triumph—Entertainment to his Faithful Workmen—Farewell to the Arabs	77
--	----

CHAPTER VII.

The Mounds on which the Assyrian Palaces stood—Khorsabad—Its Dimensions—Fortified Enclosure—Salt-swamps within the Wall—Mr. Ferguson's Opinion on the site of the City of Khorsabad—The Construction of the Mound—The neighbouring Swamps accounted for	105
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

The Palaces of Assyria—Khorsabad, Plan of the Palace—The Winged Bulls at the doorway—Alabaster Slabs—Interior Bas-reliefs—Subjects of them—The only Assyrian Temple yet discovered—Kouyunjik—The Nebbi Yunus—Great Mound of Nimroud and its Palaces, with their Gigantic-winged Figures—Conjectures as to the absence of Windows, and Theories thereon—Enormous thickness of the Walls—The upper stories from which the Kings showed themselves—The Fact accounted for that all the Assyrian Palaces have been Destroyed by Fire—Architecture of the Assyrians influenced by absence of Natural Elevations—	
---	--

CONTENTS.

v

PAGE

Contrast between the Ruins of Nineveh and those of other Ancient Cities—The almost total absence of Columns or Pillars accounted for—The early knowledge of Tubular Drain-tiles—Connection between the style of Architecture of the People of Assyria and Babylonia—Their love of Ornament—The rich Fringes of their Apparel—What relation does their style of Art bear to other styles?—Comparison between the Assyrian Ornaments and the more familiar forms of Greek Art

113

CHAPTER IX.

Sculptures and Sculptured Decorations of the Assyrians—The Bas-reliefs at Khorsabad—Their Arrangement—The Symbolic Character of the Figures—Details of their Dresses and Adornments—The Emblems borne by them—The Winged Bull—Detailed Description of this frequently-repeated Figure—The Winged Lions at Nimroud—Other Winged Figures—Their Dresses and Emblems—General Effect of these Colossal Decorations

132

CHAPTER X.

The Warriors of Assyria—Their Battles, Sieges, and Triumphs, as shown in the Bas-reliefs at Khorsabad—Attack on a Fortress—Group of Prisoners—The King in his War Chariot—Archers attacking a Fortress—Assyrian Scaling-ladders—Various Bas-reliefs, representing the King in his Car engaged in the Fray—Costumes of the Besiegers and the Besieged—Another Fortress attacked—Dresses and Accoutrements of the Warriors—Continuation of Sieges—Assyrian Archers—Assyrian Battering-ram—The Besieged of the Negro Race

143

CHAPTER XI.

The Assyrian King and his Court—Description of the King's Robes, Jewels, and other Ornaments—Processions of Tributaries—Magians, Guards, and Eunuchs—Their Arms and Costumes described—Hunting Scenes—Assyrian Falcon—Target Shooting—Fishing Temple—Hunting Banquet—Court of Justice—The Fetters of the Prisoners—Crucifixion among the Assyrians

168

CHAPTER XII.

Religion and Worship of the Assyrians—Contemplation of their History and Monuments, and the Impression left on the Mind of the Character of its People—The Founder of the Monarchy around Nineveh only three generations from Noah, hence the Conditions under which the Religion of Assyria would take its rise—Worship of the Sun, Moon, and Stars—Worship of Fire—Sacred Symbols—Worship of the Groves—The Fir-cone—The Eagle or Vulture-headed Human Figure—The Winged Human-headed Lions and Bulls—The Chebar of Ezekiel and the Khabour of the Arabs—Assarac—Nisroch—Ashtaroth—Mylitta—Alitta—Place, Form, and Spirit of the Worship—The Lion and the Bull, Emblems of Royalty and Power

179

CHAPTER XIII.

Assyrian Art, Industry, Dress, Ornaments, and Equipages—Perfection of the Art of Sculpture in Nineveh—Assyrian Art intermediary between the Grecian

and Egyptian—Splendour of Costumes—Extreme Care of Beards—Assyrian Industry—The High Degree of Perfection it attained—Acquaintance with the Art of Working various Metals—Dresses and Ornaments of the Attendants on the King—Fly-flapper—Costume of Magian—Vases—Chariot	193
---	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

The Assyrian Relics in the British Museum—The Attack of a Fortified City—The Fragment of a Relievo in which the Figures are Colossal—The Chariot of the King, drawn by three Horses—The Standard-bearers of the Great King with their respective Charioteers—Castellated Building—The Hawk-headed Deity—Colossal Human Head—Colossal Human-headed Figure—A Lion Hunt—The King returned from the Chase—A Bull Hunt—The League or Treaty of Peace—Attack on a Fortress by the Army of the Great King—Continuation of ditto—Final Assault on the City—City built on a Plain—Beardless Person introducing four Beardless Prisoners—The Passage of a River by the Army of the Great King and his Allies—Winged Men—Two of the Cavalry of the King—Division of the King's Army waiting the word of command—A Bowman with his Shield-bearer—The Nimroud Obelisk—King drinking—Colossal Figure of the King—Battle Scene, and Route of the Enemy—Eunuch Warrior in Battle—King's Beardless Officer pursuing the Cavalry of the Enemy into the River—Return of the Conquerors—Procession, conveying Tribute and Prisoners to the Great King after his victorious return—King crossing a River—Evacuation of a City—Nis-roch—Triumphant Return—Flight of an Arab	219
---	-----

CHAPTER XV.

Assyrian Inscriptions and their Interpretation—The Arrow-headed Character—How it came to be deciphered by Professor Grotefend—M. Burnouf and Professor Lassen Suggestions—Col. Rawlinson and the Behistun Inscription—Process of Annalyzing the Assyrian Texts—The Inscriptions at Khorsabad—The Situations in which they were found—Botta's Opinion on these Inscriptions—The Inscription on the Obelisk found at Nimroud—Major Rawlinson's Translation—Memoir—Progress of Cuneiform Discovery—Babylonian unquestionably the most ancient of the great classes of Cuneiform Writing—Tablets at the Mouth of the Nahr-el-Kalb—Cuneiform Writing confined exclusively to Sculptures and Impressions	255
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

Botta's Opinions on the Destruction of the Assyrian Palace at Khorsabad	285
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

Latest Proceedings and Discoveries in Assyria—Language and Mode of Writing of the Ancient Assyrians—Difference between the two Systems of Major Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks in Interpreting Inscriptions—Intelligence of Layard, 1849, 1850, and 1851	288
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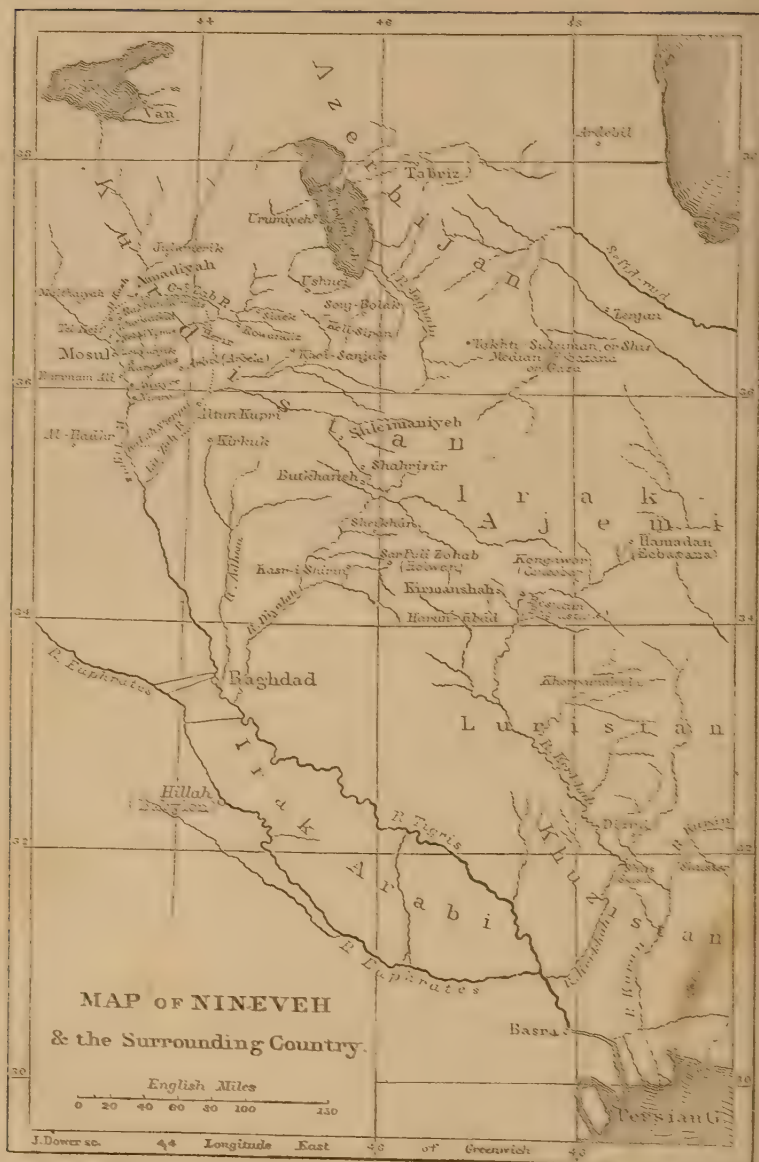
APPENDIX.

Botta's Account of his Great Work	296
---	-----

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Frontispiece, The King, attended by Eunuchs and Winged Figures	1
Map of Nineveh and the surrounding country	7
Portrait of Layard	9
Birs Nimroud	23
Bas-relief of Nisroch	34
Bust of Herodotus	39
Turkish Pasha	48
The Mound of Khorsabad	49
Village of Khorsabad	62
The Mound of Nimroud	77
Ruins at Al Hadhr	85
Procession of the Winged Bull	100
Arab Sheikh	104
Group of Arabs	112
Winged Bull	113
Plan of Palace of Khorsabad	115
Winged Lion	120
Winged Divinity	132
Assyrian Warrior	143
Fortress taken by scaling ladders	146
Attack on Fortress by Archers	150
Horsemen in pursuit of the Enemy	152
The King in his War-chariot	153
Assyrian Archers	155
Warrior in Chariot	157
Prisoners guarded by Eunuchs	160
Warriors and Raft	164
Assyrian Banquet	167
The King, Magian, and Attendant Eunuchs	168
Assyrian Archers Shooting at Target	175
Assyrian Fishing Temple	176
Winged Divinity	179
Assyrian Helmets	193
Assyrian Vases	199
Assyrian Head-dresses	199

	PAGE
Eunuchs and Present Bearers	204
Eunuchs with Throne, &c.	206
Groom with Horses, &c.	208
Section and Plan of arrangement of Funereal Urns	215
Assyrian Swords	218
The King in his Chariot, attended by Warriors	219
River Fortress and Warriors	224
Lion Hunt	226
Bull Hunt	227
Archers and Battering Ram	233
Passage of a River by Troops	235
Nimroud Obelisk	237
The King Drinking after the Chase	242
The King Crossing a River	246
An Assyrian Kitchen and Domestics	249
Assyrian Groom and Horses	249
Masked Figures Dancing	250
Officer Receiving Captives	250
The Triumphal Return of the King to his Camp	251
Arab on Camel pursued by Assyrian Horsemen	252
Slab with Cuneiform Inscription	256



The dotted line indicates the space within which the ancient Nineveh, with its suburbs, were supposed to have been included.



AUSTEN DENAY LAYARD.

THE BURIED CITY OF THE EAST: NINEVEH.

CHAPTER I.

THE BURIED CITY AND ITS DISCOVERER LAYARD—HIS EARLY CAREER
AND TRAVELS.

FAR away—a thousand miles—from the highways of modern commerce, and the tracks of ordinary travel, lay a city buried in the sandy earth of a half-desert Turkish Province, with no certain trace of its place of sepulchre. Vague tradition said that it was hidden somewhere near the river Tigris; but for above two thousand years its known existence in the world was as a mere name; a word. That name suggested the idea of an ancient capital of fabulous splendour and magnitude; a congregation of palaces and other dwellings encompassed by walls and ramparts, vast but scarcely real.

Old writers—men who lived a thousand years *before* our times, yet a thousand years *after* many of the things they tell about—spoke of the

buried city as one in their days known only by tradition, and as one the fate of which had long been sealed—blotted out of the world it had once helped to sway—and the very site of which could not with certainty be told.

More than two thousand years had it thus lain in its unknown grave, when a wandering English scholar and a French savan urged by a noble inspiration sought the seat of the once powerful empire, and searching till they found the dead city, threw off its shroud of sand and ruin, and revealed once more to an astonished and curious world the temples, the palaces, and the idols; the representations of war, and the triumphs of peaceful art of the ancient Assyrians. The Nineveh of scripture, the Nineveh of the oldest historians; the Nineveh—twin sister of Babylon—glorying in a civilization of pomp and power all traces of which were believed to be gone; the Nineveh in which the captive tribes of Israel had laboured and wept, again, after a sleep of twenty centuries was brought to light. The long lost was found. The dead palaces were exhumed; the strange huge sculptures were dug out; and their inscriptions were deciphered. The proofs of ancient splendour were again beheld by living eyes, and by the skill of the draftsman and the pen of the antiquarian travellers, made known to the world.

And the strange and stirring story of how courage and learning; talent and enterprise; patience and industry, rescued from the earth these treasures of a long gone people—giving proof of a great civilization existing in the earliest stages of the history of the human race,—it is the intention of the following pages to tell.

Every romance has its hero—and the chief hero of this romance of antiquarian discovery is Layard.—And since we shall have to say so much about his achievements, we may as well commence with a sketch of his personal career previous to the period at which he began his labours at Nineveh.

Austen Henry Layard is the descendant of a French family, who, many generations since, embraced the Protestant faith, and who were in consequence compelled to fly from their native country when Papal influence succeeded in obtaining the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The family seems to have been long distinguished for mental talent and independence—some branches of it were among the earliest supporters of the persecuted Albigenses; but notwithstanding their known leanings towards unorthodox religious opinions, they appear to have received both honours and profitable grants from the kings of France. But when the day of trial arrived they had their share of miseries. In the slaughter of the Huguenots two members of the family were slain; but a third, more fortunate, succeeded in escaping to Holland, where the Layards commenced a new career.

Their first appearance in England was under William of Orange, and in the list of those who held command under that Protestant Prince when he fought the battle of the Boyne will be found the name of the founder of the English branch of the family.

Previous to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the name had been Raymond, but Layard was taken as a *sobriquet* when its owner fled from France, and has since been retained by the descendants of the religious exile. The mental characteristics that secured them distinction in Holland prepare us to find that the family thrived in this their adopted country, and the grandfather of the discoverer of Nineveh was the Rev. Dr. Layard, Dean of Bristol. The Dean had two sons, the second—Henry Peter John Layard—held an important civil post in Ceylon, where, between the years of 1820 and 1830, he distinguished himself by his great activity in the dissemination of the scriptures among the savage tribes of that part of the world. He is described as a man of much classical learning and of cultivated tastes. Like all persons engaged in official occupation in the East, Mr. Layard required an occasional recourse to the more genial climate of Europe. During a visit to Paris in 1817, his wife gave birth on the 5th of March to Austen Henry Layard, the man whose name will henceforth be identified with Nineveh.

With these few preliminary sentences about his family, we pass on to speak more exactly of the circumstances and education which prepared Layard for the career in which he has since signalised himself. His father's tastes, and the beautiful climate of Italy, induced the family to fix their abode in that country; hence the early youth of Layard was passed in Florence and its neighbourhood. In the midst of charming scenery, and in a place surrounded by historical associations,—rich also in works of art—and well supplied with ancient libraries, the future traveller and antiquary began his education. Italian became to him a second mother tongue, and his father took care that his talent should also be employed in the acquisition not only of the languages of Greece and Rome, but of the more modern ones. The clever boy could scarcely live in Florence without imbibing some artistic feeling, and young Layard, it would appear, without any elaborate efforts, laid the foundation of that skill as a draftsman so useful to him afterwards in Syria.

Though long resident in Italy, Mr. Layard was unwilling his son should lose the characteristics of an Englishman, and hence young Layard was subsequently sent to England for further education. A relative suggested the law as a profession, and under favourable circumstances its study was commenced, but legal fetters were too harsh for the feelings of a youth nurtured in Italy and already thirsting for

a life of adventure. In the summer of 1839 he joined a friend, and they together set out on a visit to Russia and other northern countries. Without any very definite plans he journeyed in succession through various states in Germany, paying special attention to those on the Danube, mastering not only the German language itself, but several of the dialects of Transylvania, in Montenegro. He remained some time in Dalmatia, assisting in the latter semi-barbarous locality a young territorial chieftain who was endeavouring to improve the condition of his people. From Montenegro he travelled through Albania and Roumelia, and not without perilous and troublesome adventures made his way to Constantinople, which he reached about the latter part of the year 1839.

Having by this time seen all that was most remarkable in Europe, a new field seemed opening upon him full of interest in Asia. His experience as a traveller had rendered him hardy, and equal to the emergencies of European journeyings, but new languages and new habits—a more perfect reliance upon himself—were requisite before he could plunge into the half wild life led in Asia Minor and other countries of the East. But the true spirit of the traveller and investigator was in him—and undaunted by difficulties he went to work to learn the languages of Turkey and Arabia. He studied the manners—adopted the costume—and was before long able to lead the life of an Arab of the Desert, and travelled frequently alone in Persia, in Mesopotamia, in Khuzistan, and elsewhere, visiting all the spots most renowned as the sites of bygone cities. Some records of these wanderings found place in the journals of the London Geographical Society, and to these we may turn for a few particulars. In a communication which Layard made to that association relative to some ancient sites, under date Karack, Dec. 31, 1840, he says:

“ I have succeeded in reaching and examining Susan and some other places of interest in the Baktiyari mountains, to which the attention was drawn by Major Rawlinson. I left Ispahan in the middle of last September, in company with Schiffeer Khan, a Baktiyari chief, and reached Kala Tul by a road through the mountains, having crossed the highest part of the great chain of Mungasht. The road we followed is not the Yanhai Atibeg, mentioned by Major Rawlinson; that road we were unable to take on account of a blood feud existing between Schiffeer Khan and a neighbouring tribe.

My first expedition, on reaching Kala Tul, was to Manjanik. I visited them on two or three different occasions, and can safely say that there are no mounds of any consequence. There are, indeed, the ruins of a city of some extent; and as these ruins resemble those of the Sassanian cities which I have seen, they probably are of that period.

The plain of Mel Amir contains ruins of two descriptions, the ancient mound and the Sassanian ruin. There are also several cuneiform inscriptions in the neighbouring mountains. The Shikafti Salmán, mentioned by Major Rawlinson, is to the west of Mel Amir, and not on the road to Susan. Adjoining the natural cave, are four tablets with sculpture; and there formerly existed extensive cuneiform inscriptions, one of which only I was able to copy; the others are completely effaced. The sculptures appear to me to be of a very ancient date, and the character used in the inscription is very complicated. Two colossal figures appear to represent priests of the Magi; between them is a natural recess in the rock, which may have been used as an altar. In the same plain, and on the road to Susan, there are other sculptures, and very extensive inscriptions, which I have not yet had time to copy. The plain is called Hong.

The plain of Mel Amir is separated from the valley of the Kuran by a ridge of hills of a considerable height. There are two roads across these hills to Susan. The distance may be between fifteen and twenty miles. I had much difficulty in reaching Susan, the neighbourhood of which is inhabited by a tribe of the Dinaruni, notorious for their predatory habits. Unfortunately I was robbed on my way thither of my watch, compass, and many other things which would have proved exceedingly useful to me.

I have experienced the difficulty of obtaining correct information as to things and places from Persians; and I am not surprised that Major Rawlinson should have been misled by their exaggerated accounts. At Susan there are scarcely any remains which would indicate the site of a large city; and those ruins which do actually exist are all confined to the northern bank of the river. I do not doubt, however, that a large city did once exist here; but there are no mounds of any size, or columns, or even hewn stones and bricks. On either side of the river, which enters and leaves the valley of Susan by narrow and almost impassable gorges, there are the remains of ancient roads, and the river was formerly spanned by a bridge, four buttresses of which remain and attest the stupendous nature of the building. The tomb of Daniel is neither of white marble, nor are there any sacred fish: it is a comparatively modern building, of rough stones, containing two apartments. It is regarded with great veneration, and is always known by the name of Gebr Daniel Akbar, or the greater Daniel, in contradistinction to the one at Shus. There is an inscription near the tomb, which, however, from the extreme jealousy and suspicions of the people, I was unable to see. The story of the black stone of Shus had reached them, and they conceived that I wished to carry off their talisman. I trust, however, to be able to visit the place under more favourable auspices."

In another number of the Society's transactions, we find a paper by Mr. William Francis Ainsworth, in which he gives notes of an excursion in the neighbourhood of the Tigris and Nineveh—Layard being one of the party. The travellers started from Mósul, and made their way down the stream to Kalah Sherkat where the ruins of an ancient Persian city are still visible. In this excursion Layard passed the spot where his future excavations were to be made, and where he was to unveil Nimroud, and so raise a lasting monument to his own fame. Kalah Sherkat it may be premised lies some forty miles from Nimroud, on the bank of the Tigris. It displays the third great mound covering ruins of Assyrian palaces. Mr. Ainsworth thus speaks of the journey, and of the circumstances under which Layard joined the party who made it:—

“The accidental arrival of two English travellers, Messrs. Mitford and Layard, at Mósul, enabled us to make up a strong party to visit the sites of the ruined cities of Kalah Sherkat and Al Hadhr.

The party consisted of the above-mentioned gentlemen, Mr. Rassám and myself; and we were accompanied by an Arab of Tunis, of whose courage we had had proof in crossing Northern Mesopotamia, when he was in the service of Mohammed 'Alí; but being worsted in an engagement between the Shammár Arabs (the men ‘without bondage’) and the irregular troops of Ibráhím Páshá, which had recently taken place, he had abandoned his horse to save his life, and sought refuge at Mósul. We had also with us a khaváss from Mohammed Páshá of Mósul.

We started on Saturday, April 18th, travelling at first across the cultivated alluvial plain south of Mósul, named the Karákójah. At this season of the year barley was in ear, and beans in flour; fig, almond, and mulberry trees were in full bloom, but the pastachio as yet only budding. On the sandy deposits of the river the water-melon had put forth its cotyledons. Doves and quails had returned a few days before from their migrations. As the river was high we were obliged to turn up the rocky uplands west of El Seramúm, an old country residence of its Páshás.

The rocky acclivities and stony valleys of the Jubailah were now clad with a beautiful vegetation. Grass was abundant, and the green sward was chequered with red ranunculuses and composite plants of a golden-yellow hue, which enliven at this season of the year by their contrast the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, wherever they are stony. Crossing the Jubailah, and leaving the village of Abú Jawári, ‘the father of female slaves’ to our left, we descended upon another alluvial plain, such as, on the Tigris and Euphrates, whether cultivated or covered with jungle, is equally designated Háwí. The present one was cultivated, and contained the two villages, both inhabited by Arabs, now pasturing their flocks.

At the end of this plain the ground rises, and at this point are the baths and a village, the latter inhabited by a few Chaldees, settled here by the Páshá of Mósul to cultivate the land. The thermal spring is covered by a building, only commodious for a half savage people, yet the place is much frequented by persons of the better classes, both from Baghdád and Mósul. Close by is a mound about 60 feet high, called 'the mound of the victor,' from a tradition of an engagement having taken place in this neighbourhood.

On the following morning leaving Hammám 'Ali, we crossed an extensive Háwí, near the centre of which is the village of Safatus, inhabited by the Arab tribe of Juhaish, or 'of the ass's colt.' We then turned off to the right to the ruined village of Jeheinah or Jehennem, 'Hell or the Lower Regions,' which name excited our expectations, but we only found some old houses of a better class. Our road continued for three hours over verdant prairies, on an upland of gypsum, with some tracts of sandstone, when we arrived at Reed-Valley, the banks of a sluggish stream being covered with that plant. We roused an old sow from this cover, and captured a young pig which it was obliged to leave behind. As the animal went grunting down the valley it stirred up several others with their young ones, which we hunted down, catching two more, one of which we liberated, as two were quite enough for our wants. We approached the Tigris, a few miles below the tomb of Sultán 'Abdullah, which was the extreme point reached by the Euphrates steamer in 1839, and passing an abundant rivulet of waters which filled the air with the odour of sulphur acid, we came to a level naked spot, inclosed by rocks of gypsum, on the floor of which were innumerable springs of asphalt or bitumen oozing out of the soil in little circular fountains, but often buried beneath or surrounded by a deep crust of indurated bitumen. A little beyond these pits we found other springs, giving off an equal quantity of bitumen. These are the only cases I know of springs of pure asphalt in Western Asia.

Evening was coming on apace. Herds of wild boars were feeding on the Háwí, and an occasional wolf stole along the hill-side, as we approached a thick jungle with the view to encamp there; but we found the banks of the river too high to water the horses. After travelling four or five miles in search of a good station, we were obliged by darkness to bring up at the foot of a tell (or mound) on the right bank of the Tigris, and below the tomb of Hájjí 'Alí.

On the succeeding day, starting over a low range of hills of red sandstone, we entered upon an extensive Háwí, over which we travelled two hours to a red cliff. The banks of the Tigris were well wooded and picturesque; extensive tracts of meadow-land were bounded by green hills, and terminated in islands of several miles in length,

covered with trees and brushwood, amid which winded the rapid Tigris, in a broad and noble expanse, visible as far as the eye could reach. The quantity of large wood near it is greater than on the Euphrates, and the resources for steam navigation are very great.

Passing the cliffs of red sandstone, from which point to the Harмін the Tigris follows a more easterly course, we came to a valley with a brackish rivulet, coming from the Wádí-l A'hmer. Steep cliffs advanced beyond this to the banks of the river, and obliged us to turn inwards upon the uplands, from which we first gained a view of Kalah Sherkat, situate in the midst of a most beautiful meadow, well wooded, watered by a small tributary to the Tigris, washed by the noble river itself, and backed by the rocky range of the Jebel Khánúkah, now covered with broad and deep shadows. In three hours' time we arrived at the foot of this extensive and lofty mound, where we took up our station on the northern side, immediately below the central ruin, and on the banks of a ditch formed by the recoil of the Tigris.

Although familiar with the great Babylonian and Chaldean mounds of Bírš Nimród, Mujallibah and Orchoe, the appearance of the mass of construction now before us filled me with wonder. On the plain of Babylonia to build a hill has a meaning; but there was a strange adherence to an antique custom, in thus piling brick upon brick, without regard to the cost and value of labour, where hills innumerable and equally good and elevated sites were easily to be found. Although in places reposing upon solid rock (red and brown sandstones), still almost the entire depth of the mound, which was in parts upwards of 60 feet high, and at this side 909 yards in extent, was built up of sun-burnt bricks, like the 'Aker Kúf and the Mujallibah, only without intervening layers of reeds. On the side of these lofty artificial cliffs numerous hawks and crows nestled in security, while at their base was a deep sloping declivity of crumbled materials. On this northern face, which is the most perfect as well as the highest, there occurs at one point the remains of a wall built with large square-cut stones, levelled and fitted to one another with the utmost nicety, and bevelled upon the faces, as in many Saracenic structures; the top stones were also cut away as in steps. Mr. Ross deemed this to be part of the still remaining perfect front, which was also the opinion of some of the travellers now present; but so great is the difference between the style of an Assyrian mound of burnt bricks and this partial facing of hewn stone that it is difficult to conceive that it belonged to the same period, and if carried along the whole front of the mound, some remains of it would be found in the detritus at the base of the cliff, which was not the case. At the same time its position gave to it more the appearance of a facing, whether contemporary with the mound or subsequent to it I shall not attempt to decide, than of a castle,

if any castle or other edifice was ever erected here by the Mohammedans, whose style it so greatly resembles.

Our researches were first directed towards the mound itself. We found its form to be that of an irregular triangle, measuring in total circumference 4,685 yards; whereas the Mujallibah, the supposed tower of Babel, is only 737 yards in circumference; the great mound of Borsippa, known as the Birs Nimrúd, 762 yards; the Kasr, or terraced palace of Nebuchadnezzar, 2,100 yards; and the mound called Kóyunjik, at Nineveh, 2,563 yards. But it is to be remarked of this Assyrian ruin on the Tigris, that it is not entirely a raised mound of sun-burnt bricks; on the contrary, several sections of its central portions displayed the ordinary pebbly deposit of the river, a common alluvium, and were swept by the Tigris; the mound appeared to be chiefly a mass of rubble and ruins, in which bricks, pottery, and fragments of sepulchral urns lay embedded in humus, or alternated with blocks of gypsum; finally, at the southern extremity, the mound sinks down nearly to the level of the plain. The side facing the river displayed to us some curious structures, which, not being noticed by Mr. Ross, have been probably laid bare by floods subsequent to his visit. They consisted of four round towers, built of burnt bricks, which were nine inches deep, and thirteen inches in width outwards, but only ten inches inwards, so as to adapt them for being built in a circle. These towers were four feet ten inches in diameter, well built, and as fresh looking as if of yesterday. Their use is altogether a matter of conjecture; they were not strong enough to have formed buttresses against the river; nor were they connected by a wall. The general opinion appeared to be in favour of hydraulic purposes, either as wells or pumps, communicating with the Tigris.

The south-western rampart displays occasionally the remains of a wall constructed of hewn blocks of gypsum, and it is everywhere bounded by a ditch which, like the rampart, encircles the whole ruins.

All over this great surface we found traces of foundations of stone edifices, with abundance of bricks and pottery, as observed before us, and to which we may add, bricks vitrified with bitumen, as are found at Rahábah, Babylon, and other ruins of the same epoch; bricks with impressions of straw, &c., sun-dried, burnt, and vitrified; and painted pottery with colours still very perfect; but after two hours' unsuccessful search by Messrs. Mitford, Layard and myself, Mr. Rassám was the first to pick up a brick close to our station, on which were well defined and indubitable arrow-headed characters."

Kalah Sherkat is associated with the Assyrian city of Nineveh, not only from its position and the character of its remains, but there is every reason to believe that it marks the site of the ancient Calah, one of the cities founded by Nimrod, and alluded to in the sacred writings.

Mr. Ainsworth, after a disquisition upon the early history of these ruins, resumes his narrative of the adventures of himself, Layard, and their companions, who now proceeded in search of the ruins of Al Hadhr.

"On leaving Kalah Sherkat we kept a little to the south. We travelled at a quick pace over a continuous prairie of grasses and flowering plants; we arrived at a ridge of rocks which rose above the surrounding country, and were constituted of coarse marine limestones. From a mound, upon which were a few graves, we obtained a comprehensive view of that part of Mesopotamia, but without being able to distinguish the valley of the Tharthar or the ruins of Al Hadhr.

Opinions as to the probable position of the latter were in favour of some mounds which were visible in the extreme distance to the south west, and having great faith in the eyes of our Bedwin, who also took this view of the subject, we started in that direction, although the compass indicated a more northerly course. After two and a quarter hours' quick travelling, still over prairies and undulating country, we came to the supposed ruins, which turned out to be bare hills of sandstone, the southern termination of a low ridge. Although pestered by sand-flies, we stopped a few moments and breakfasted on bread and wild leeks, which are abundant every where, and frequently enamel with their roseate and clustered umbels the lichen-clad space that intervened between the dark-green bushes of wormwood.

Changing our route, we started to the north west, in which direction we arrived, after one and a quarter hours' ride, at a valley bounded in places by rock terraces of gypsum, which indicated a wádí and a winter torrent, or actual water. To our joy we found the Tharthar flowing along the bottom of this vale, and to our great comfort the waters were very potable. The stream though narrow was deep, and hence with difficulty fordable; on its banks were a few reeds and scattered bushes of tamarise. We proceeded up the stream in a direction in search of a ford, which we found after one hour's slow and irregular journey, and we lost half an hour refreshing ourselves with a bath. We afterwards followed the right bank of the stream, being unwilling, as evening was coming on, to separate ourselves, unless we actually saw Al Hadhr, from the water so necessary for ourselves and horses. The river soon came from a more westerly direction, flowing through a valley every where clad with a luxuriant vegetation of grasses, sometimes nearly half a mile in width, at others only 300 or 400 yards, and again still more narrowed occasionally by terraces of gypsum.

On the following morning rain overtook us in our sleep, which was otherwise unbroken even by dreams of Arabs, still less by their presence; indeed we had been hitherto as quiet as if travelling on the downs of Sussex. After holding a short consultation, we deemed it best to keep

on up the river, but to travel a little inwards on the heights. This plan was attended with perfect success; and we had ridden only one hour and a half, when we perceived through the misty rain mounds still, which we felt convinced were the sought-for ruins. Mr. Rassám and myself hurried on, but soon afterwards, perceiving a flock of sheep in the distance, we became aware of the presence of Arabs, who could be no other than the Shammár, so we waited for our friends and rode all together into the kind of hollow in which Al Hadhr is situated. Here we perceived the tents of the Bedwíns extending far and wide within the ruins and without the walls. The ruins themselves presented a magnificent appearance, and the distance at which the tall bastions appeared to rise, as if by enchantment, out of the wilderness, excited our surprise. We were filled with a similar sense of wonder and admiration; no doubt in great part due not only to the splendour of the ruins, but also to the strange place where the traveller meets with them—‘in mediâ solitudine.’

Inquiring of a shepherd for the tent of the sheikh, which we soon afterwards distinguished by its two spears, we rode directly up to it, and in a few minutes found ourselves seated by a spare camel-dung fire, and surrounded by numbers of the Arabs. Happily for us there was at this moment in the encampment an Arab of Mósul who recognised Mr. Rassám, and the reception given to us was at once hospitable and tolerably frank. Having breakfasted upon newly made bread and fresh butter, the latter a luxury, not to be obtained at Mósul, we made our first visit to the ruins.”

Of these the party made an elaborate examination, and Layard made copies of various inscriptions and sketches of some sculptures. Next day they returned towards Mósul, and after a ride of sixty miles reached that place at midnight, but the gates were shut, and their Turkish keeper would not open them to the Christians; who had therefore to wait outside wet and weary, till day break.

These excursions seem only to have whetted Layard’s appetite for further adventures and discoveries. In 1842 and 1843 we find him busy at Khúzistán, and of his adventures there he sent a lengthy description through Lord Aberdeen to the Geographical Society.

This paper gives glimpses of the history of an interesting portion of our traveller’s life, whilst to the geographer it has especial value from the exactness of its details relative to a country previously but vaguely understood. Amongst the more dry and scientific details we find little illustrations of the character of the tribes he sojourned with. He lived with those he met just as they lived, and seems to have adapted himself to surrounding circumstances with great readiness. With all his experience, and with all his hardihood, he had however difficulties to overcome that would have conquered many less hardy

and risks to run that might have intimidated the most brave. His companions were often the most lawless of the desert tribes; men owning no absolute authority, and restrained by no sufficient law either of society or honour. He considered this country as very difficult of access, particularly to an European; and although he twice succeeded in traversing it, partly in disguise, he was plundered by those who were sent to protect him, and narrowly escaped on several occasions with his life. This was the more remarkable, as the Sheikh had frequently courted the friendship of the English engaged in navigating the Tigris, and it was under his protection that he entered his territories. But there were some spots safer and more pleasant than others. It would appear that one Mohammed Takí Khán then exercised a wide authority in the Province of Khúzistán. Sober and abstemious, and never indulging in many vices prevalent in Persia—he was affable, and mixed with his people as though on an equality with, rather than above them. Nevertheless, although Layard says that during a year's residence with him, he never saw an individual receive chastisement, nor did a case of robbery or violence come under our traveller's notice, yet Layard appears to have been a victim to partial violence—for, says he:—"I was attacked and robbed, but by a tribe of Dínárúnés, which even Mohammed Takí Khán could never control. He, however, sent to the chief, and insisted that every missing article should be immediately returned; and I received back the whole of my property. It was my habit to traverse these wild mountains perfectly alone, and never was I attacked or insulted, except on the occasion mentioned, when the country was in a state of war."

In the Province of Khúzistán Layard visited the most important of the rivers—the Kárún. He says—"I examined this river in the Assyria, accompanied by Lieut. Selby"—and then he goes on to pass a fitting tribute to a kindred spirit:—"That enterprising officer (Selby), has conferred the most essential benefits upon English trade, and I trust upon civilisation, by his survey of this river, the Bahmeh-Shír, the Kerkhah, and the Haï. These are some of the most interesting and useful results of the Euphrates expedition." On the Kárún, Layard states the most important ruins to be those of Súsán, believed by Major Rawlinson to mark the site of the Susa of the ancient geographers. "During two visits to Súsán, I both searched and inquired in vain after inscriptions. I have been informed that there are some sculptures in a cave at a place called Páï-ráh—'the first of the road'—but I am inclined to doubt their existence." One valuable morsel of advice is thus tendered to those who may revisit these spots. "A traveller who wishes to visit the mountains should have no baggage whatever, or any article that may excite the cupidity of those among whom he hopes to reside."

The most painful story in the description of this portion of his experience relates to an act of curious barbarity committed by the eunuch, Mo'tammad, upon the followers of Wali Khan, the legitimate chief of the Mamesseni :—"He built a lofty tower of living men ; they were placed horizontally one above another, and closely united together with mortar and cement, their heads being left exposed. Some of these unfortunate beings lived several days, and I have been informed that a negro did not die till the tenth day. Those who could eat were supplied with bread and water by the inhabitants of Shiraz, at the gate of which this tower was built. *It still exists*, an evidence of the utter callousness to cruelty of a Persian invested with power."

In these numerous wanderings one feeling seems to have grown up in the mind of Layard, which overruled, if it did not absorb, all others. It was a desire to investigate or to dispel the darkness which for tens of centuries had hung over the buried cities of Assyria and Babylonia. To use his own words, he "felt an irresistible desire to penetrate to the regions beyond the Euphrates to which history and tradition point as the birth-place of the Wisdom of the West." He had trodden the consecrated spots where Babylon and Nineveh were supposed to lie. He had walked on the route where Xenophon, and the Ten Thousand had marched twenty centuries before. He had noted a great difference between the ruins in the neighbourhood of the Tigris and those of Greece and Rome, and they had given rise in his mind, as he says, "to more serious thought and more earnest reflection" than any others he had met with. Highly excited, and much impressed by the contemplation of these ancient ruins, he formed the determination of thoroughly examining them whenever it might be in his power.

In the summer of 1842 we find Layard again at Mósul in the neighbourhood of the spot which now formed the one chief object of his thoughts. He was on his way to Constantinople, and he found that a kindred spirit—a Frenchman—was located there, as Consul of Mósul. It was Botta, a nephew of the historian of Italy, who, with tastes like Layard, and warm sympathies for literature and art, had commenced excavations in the great mound of Koyunjik, on which was supposed to have been built the great Palace of Nineveh. Finding little there, however, to reward his research, and being led to believe that if he went to a village four or five hours distant from Mósul he would, at the mound of Khorsabad, be more successful in his search for antiques. Botta took the hint—sent labourers to the village, and within six months had opened to the light an Assyrian building, which, as Layard says, "was probably the first which had been exposed to the view of man since the fall of the Assyrian Empire." Khorsabad, which lies about ten miles north of Nimroud, was burnt by Cyaxares, and is supposed to have

been the residence of the Senacherib dynasty, but of that more presently. The exposure of the remains of so ancient a place still further strengthened Layard's desire to follow out his scheme of investigations on the Tigris, and he set out for Constantinople, intent upon obtaining means for carrying out his views. The French excavations had been pursued at the cost of the French Government; but in England science meets little sympathy from those in power. Layard sought help in vain, until the munificence of Sir Stratford Canning opened a new prospect. In the autumn of 1845 that gentleman said he would bear for a while out of his private purse the cost of excavations in Assyria. To this noble offer is England and the world chiefly indebted for the discoveries Layard was thus—and thus only—enabled to commence. Sir Stratford Canning had before manifested his love of art, and his public spirit in obtaining for England the Halicarnassian antiquities. The discoverer of Nineveh thus speaks of his first patron's exertions: "I need scarcely remind the reader (says he) that it is to Sir Stratford Canning we owe the marbles of Halicarnassus now in the British Museum. The difficulties which stood in the way of the acquisition of these invaluable relics, and the skill which was required to obtain them, are not generally known. I can testify to the efforts and labour which were necessary for nearly three years, before the repugnance of the Ottoman Government could be overcome, and permission obtained to extract the sculptures from the walls of a castle, which was more jealously guarded than any similar edifice in the empire. Their removal, notwithstanding the almost insurmountable difficulties raised by the authorities and inhabitants of Budroon, was most successfully effected by Mr. Alison. The Elgin marbles, and all other remains from Turkey and Greece, now in Europe, were obtained with comparative ease." Prepared, in the autumn of 1845, by private munificence, with means for the commencement of his long-desired labours, Layard quitted Constantinople for Assyria. Impatience and horse-flesh carried him all the way to Mósul in twelve days.

Here we may close this sketch of the career of Layard previous to the commencement of his great work. Before entering upon an examination of how he carried that on, it will be necessary to inquire what Biblical writers and classical writers had been thinking and saying about the buried cities in the East, and to examine also in detail the discoveries of Botta, at Khorsabad. Having done this, we shall then be ready to return to Layard's labours at Nimroud.



BIRS NIMROUD.

CHAPTER II.

THE NINEVEH OF THE BIBLE.

A GLANCE backwards—more than two thousand years—becomes necessary, when we ask what Nineveh was understood to be before the excavations of Layard. We have two sources of information on the subject; the sacred writers and the ancient Greek and Roman historians. Let us examine first, then, the Nineveh of the Bible.

From the sacred writings we learn that the long forborne vengeance of Heaven, overtaking the impious pride of the antediluvian world, had swept from the face of the earth the numerous tribes of Adam, reserving only the family of Noah, to make him the second progenitor of the human race. The three sons of the Patriarch, conscious of the dignity of their relation to the new world, had gone forth to assume other new sovereignties and people the earth. At this period, within a century after the flood, and while Noah was in the full vigour of his power, his great grandson, the founder of the earliest post-deluvian cities, is introduced on the historic page.

“And Cush begat Nimrod; he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord; wherefore it is said, ‘Even as Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord.’ And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Asshur (Assyria) and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah, the same is a great city.” Genesis c. x. v. 8-12.

The position of this passage, a circumstantial personal narrative interposed between two portions of a dry genealogical list, and especially the allusion to a colloquial proverb, are remarkable. Moses, the writer

of the book of Genesis, is believed to have produced that work while expiating in Arabia his indiscreet display of patriotism by the slaughter of an Egyptian. At all events he wrote some eight hundred years after the events he describes. At that time the children of Israel had dwelt four hundred years in Egypt, and suffered there the most galling slavery. Notwithstanding this, they may have preserved the family traditions, and some fragmentary memorials of nomadic life were probably cherished among them: it is, however, hardly to be supposed that they remembered with equal interest the exploits of a hunter, a man of another nation, regarded as of an inferior race, or at least that his renown should have become a proverb in their intercourse. And yet both the interruption of the genealogy, and the reference to the proverb seem to occur naturally, as if the author felt that those for whom he was writing would feel gratified by an allusion to a fact within their own knowledge. Were this the case the writer must have lived at a point of time shortly after the deluge, say the age succeeding Nimrod: how this could have been, may be thus explained.

An English scholar, distinguished no less by reverence for the inspired volume than great critical acumen, the late Dr. Pye Smith, took a view of the book of Genesis which would not only explain the peculiar features of this passage, but also heighten its antiquity by several centuries. He was led by internal evidence to regard the earlier portions of that book as consisting of several independent and complete compositions of the highest antiquity and authority, distinctly marked by differences of style and by express formularies of commendment in each instance. These, although not fragments, but so many finished compositions, he believed were collected by Moses, and under Divine authority prefixed by him to his history, he thought it far from improbable that we have in this the most ancient writing in the world, the family registers of Abraham, Shem, and Noah, and ascending still higher, authentic memorials from the hands of Enoch, Seth, and Adam. In the light of this hypothesis, which would assign to the tenth chapter of Genesis a date in the third or fourth century after the flood, the free digression to the achievements of Nimrod is invested with a peculiar interest.

The qualifications ascribed to Nimrod as "a mighty hunter," or more literally, "a man mighty in spoils," taken in connection with the invasion of Asshur, or Assyria, related in the eleventh verse, sufficiently fix his character. He was born under a patriarchal form of government, and under circumstances which should have made that institution sacred in his eyes. The second arch-progenitor of mankind was yet on the scene, and the boundaries of the tribes had just been laid down under the most solemn sanctions—but of energetic and imperious character, and

endowed with physical qualities fitted to execute the impulses of a vehement will, Nimrod placed himself in opposition to the order of society, and endeavoured to subvert the patriarchal institution by setting up a system of chieftainship based upon personal valour and maintained by a series of aggressions on the territories and property of his neighbours. The chase has always presented the likeliest image of war, and especially in young countries has been the training school of individual bravery. The rapid increase of ferocious animals after the flood would secure to the young athlete ample occasion for displaying his prowess, success would ensure him companions, and the habit of combined action engender a consciousness of strength which would not be slow in turning to richer spoils than the skins of beasts of the forest or field. To this violence of character the founder of Nineveh in all probability owes his name. "Nimrod" signifies rebellion, supercilious contempt, and according to Gesenius, is equivalent to "the extremely impious rebel." In endeavouring to identify him with the hero of local traditions, reasons will be presently assigned for regarding this cognomen as a significant characteristic appellative, acquired by reputation, perhaps even after death; meanwhile it is clear that the name is totally repugnant to the parental feelings which ordinarily govern the designation of offspring.

The commencement of Nimrod's career as a sovereign is described in verse 10, of which the following is a close translation: "And the first theatre of his dominion was Babel, Erech, and Akkad, and Kalneh in the land of Shinar." Although it has been usual to infer from this passage that these four cities were founded by Nimrod, it is equally consistent with its construction that he found them already established, and first gave signs of his aggressive character in their conquest.

That Babel was the original of the subsequently imperial city of Babylon the identity of name sufficiently proves, the latter being the same word with a Greek ending. We must, however, understand this sameness of the Babel of sacred and the Babylon of secular history in a sense qualified by reference to that early period which goes back to the origin of permanent dwellings, political institutions, and civil society. Although the capital of Nimrod's young realm, the metropolis could only be an insignificant town. The mightiest cities of ancient and modern history have been of slow growth, and have arrived at importance from the humblest beginnings. A village in the Palatine hill was the origin of imperial Rome. Paris sprang from a few fishermen's huts, which, in the days of Cæsar, had been erected by a part of the tribe Parisii on a little island of the Seine. Referring to the analogy of the growth of cities, we can only gather from the sacred record that the enterprising chieftain Nimrod, or possibly the peaceful descendants of one of his uncles, formed a settlement, which subsequently became the capital of a

mighty empire. The relation of the Babylon of later history to pristine Babel will then resemble that of modern London to the stationary camp of Britons, found by the Romans nineteen centuries ago on the north bank of the Thames.

Erech, Accad, and Calneh, having probably grown up around the frontier fortresses of Nimrod's first realm, the identification of their sites would serve to define its limits as they existed before the conquest of Assyria had merged the mother country in a superior kingdom. Herodotus, Ptolemy, and Ammianus Marcellinus, speak of cities the names of which, like the *Irak* of the modern Arabs, are clearly derivable from the *Erech* of Scripture; but do not precisely indicate their position.

Colonel Taylor, the late British resident at Baghdad, who devoted great skill and distinguished abilities to the geography of the Babylonian region, satisfied himself that the place formerly called *Orchoe* by the Greeks, and now known as Werka, is the true site of the ancient city. Werka is situated on the Euphrates, eighty miles south of Babylon, and is celebrated for the immense mounds of El Assayah, believed to be the ruins of Erech.

The site of Accad—or Accur, as the best scholars agree to write it—is assigned to the Sittace of the Greeks, the Akkerkuf of the present day. It is distant about nine miles from the Tigris, at the point where that river makes its nearest approach to the Euphrates. A primitive monument found here is still called by the Arabs Tel Nimrûd, and by the Turks Nimrûd Tepasse, both designations signifying the hill of Nimrod. It consists of a mound, surmounted by a mass of building which looks like a tower or an irregular pyramid, according to the point from which it is viewed: it is about 400 feet in circumference at the bottom, and rises to the height of 125 feet above the elevation on which it stands. The mound, which seems to form the foundation of the pile, is a mass of rubbish, accumulated from the decay of the superincumbent structure.

Calneh, or Chalnah, is fixed by the concurrence of a great mass of authority, ancient and modern, oriental and European, at what was the ancient Ctesiphon, on the banks of the Tigris, about eighteen miles below Baghdad; the district surrounding which was called by the Greeks Chalonitis. The prophet Amos¹ speaks of Calnah as forming, in his time, an independent principality, but shortly afterwards it became, with the greater part of western Asia, a prey to the Assyrians. The site of Calnah was afterwards occupied by El Madair, among the remains of which travellers find the ruins of an ancient palace called

¹ Amos vi. 12, B.C. 803.

Tauk-Kesra, believed to have been the White Palace of the Persian kings, the magnificence of which struck the barbarian conquerors from Arabia with amazement and delight.

If Nimrod's chief towns are thus correctly localized, his first kingdom—resting on the Euphrates, stretching from Erech on the south to Accad in the north, and guarded in front by the Tigris—must have extended towards the tribes of the east a frontier of about 130 miles. To the sons of Shem occupying the other bank of the river, the seizure of the plains of Shinar by the Hametic chieftain would be a just cause for apprehension; but, with the setting up of Nimrod's kingdom, the entire ancient world entered a new historical phase. The oriental tradition, which makes that warrior the first man who wore a kingly crown, points to a fact more significant than the assumption of a new ornament of dress, or even the conquest of a province. His reign introduced to the world a new system of relations between the governor and the governed. The authority of former rulers had rested upon the feeling of kindred; and the ascendancy of the chief was an image of parental control. Nimrod, on the contrary, was a sovereign of territory and of men, just so far as they were its inhabitants, and irrespective of personal ties. Hitherto there had been tribes, enlarged families—Society: now there was a nation, a political community—the State. The political and social history of the world henceforth are distinct, if not divergent. The diadem of tradition may have been only a figure of speech; it betrays, however, the feeling that a natural relation, universally and promptly recognised, had given place to a fortuitous sovereignty which stood in need of an external mark or symbol to denote its possessor.

Having consolidated his power in the "land of Shinar," Nimrod pushed his forces across the Tigris into the territories occupied by the Semitic tribe. "He advanced beyond that land into Asshur (Assyria), and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen—that, the great city—between Nineveh and Calah."¹

Asshur, the son of Shem, or the tribe which bore his name, having fixed their habitation in this land, gave it the designation which, whether in the original Hebrew form of Asshur, or the Greek derivative, Assyria, it retained long after its original possessors had been swept from its face. How far into this country Nimrod carried his conquests is not to be learned from the sacred narrative; nor has Assyria, like Babylonia, any great natural frontiers to determine its extent. The site of Rehoboth is so uncertain that it has been shifted everywhere. The magnificent ruins of Kaleh Shergat have been with great proba-

¹ Genesis x. 11, 12.

bility identified with the ancient Calah; and competent judges have satisfied themselves that Nimroud is the ancient Resen: but on these points it is wiser to await the light which the local researches now carried on will ultimately furnish.

After the foundation of Nimrod's second kingdom, we meet with no direct mention, in the sacred writing, of Nineveh or its king for a period of fifteen hundred years. This is no proof that the city or empire remained unimportant, since the Bible does not profess to contain a systematic history of the world. In the fourteenth chapter of Genesis one "Amraphel king of *Shinar*" is mentioned, of whom the Jewish archaeologist Josephus says¹ he was a commander in the Assyrian army. It is probable that he was an Assyrian satrap or viceroy, according to the subsequent Assyrian boast—"Are not my princes altogether kings?"² At the closing period of the age of Moses we again meet with traces of Assyria as an independent and formidable state. Balaam, the seer, addressing the Kenites, a tribe of highlanders on the east of the Jordan, "took up his parable," *i. e.*, raised his oracular prophetic chant, and said,—

"Durable is thy dwelling-place!
Yea, in a rock puttest thou thy nest:
Nevertheless wasted shall be the Kenite,
Until Asshur shall lead them captive."³

Although the Assyrian kings or their country are not expressly mentioned until the reign of Jeroboam (B.C. 825), we are not left without indications of the state of the kingdom during the latter part of this period. It is a striking proof of the impotence or sloth of the Kings of Nineveh that they allowed the Jewish power to rise under David, and extend under his son Solomon, almost to the banks of the Euphrates, so as to be at that period, if not the greatest, at least the most brilliant kingdom of Western Asia.

The first returning mention of Assyria or Nineveh in the Bible is in the Book of Jonah. The name of the monarch then reigning is not given, but it is supposed that he was the father of that "Phul," whose invasion of Israel is subsequently recorded, and the commencement of whose reign is dated B.C. 821. In the history of Jonah's visit, Nineveh is twice described as "that great city," and again as an "exceeding great city of three days' journey." It had by this time evidently recovered from the blow inflicted by political misfortunes, and was flourishing under regal government.

The measurement assigned to Nineveh by the sacred writer applies, without doubt, to its circuit, and gives a circumference of about twenty

¹ Ant., lib. i. cap. ix.

² Isaiah x. 8.

³ Numbers xxiv. 21, 22.

miles, as nearly as possible identical with that laid down by Herodotus. The statement in the fourth verse of the third chapter, that "Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey" in order to deliver his message, shows that the outline of Nineveh could neither have been foursquare, like Babylon, nor yet a circle. Diodorus corroborates this passage by stating, that although the city was equal to three days' journey in circuit, its length was not less, but rather more, than a third of the circumference; it was of an oblong figure, 150 stadia in length by 90 in breadth. It is a singular coincidence, that a line drawn to connect Khorsabad, Kouyunjuk, Nimroud, and Karamles, four of the greatest collections of Assyrian ruins, will define an oblong square, agreeing not only with the form, but also with the measurement, of the prophet and historian. It may be going too far to affirm that we have here the precise boundaries of the old city, but the agreement is deserving of remembrance.

The twelfth verse of the fourth chapter of Jonah furnishes us with the means of estimating approximately the population of the ancient city when visited by the prophet. It is there stated to have contained 120,000 persons who "could not discern between their right hand and their left,"—a figurative expression usually understood of young children. As these are, in any place, commonly reckoned to form one-fifth of the population, Nineveh must have contained 600,000 inhabitants. This may at first sight appear a disappointing calculation, considering the unanimous testimony of antiquity to the greatness of "Imperial Nineveh, the earthly queen;" but we are not to frame our ideas of the eastern and ancient from the western and modern, or look to our crowded towns and high streets as types of those arrangements which three thousand years ago prevailed in Asia. It is not to the existing capitals of Great Britain or France, but those of China or Persia, that we must turn for a counterpart to ancient city life in the east. Oriental cities are always loosely built, and cover a vast extent of ground, in proportion to their population. Babylon, we know, contained within its walls not only gardens and large open spaces for purposes of pleasure, but a sufficient quantity of land left for tillage to support the inhabitants in the event of a siege. It may be that the majority of the houses of Nineveh, like those of many eastern cities of the present day, consisted but of one story, so that the number of people spread over a much wider area than in our western towns, where tenements are carried to a considerable height, and one house is often made to accommodate several families.

A still more certain proof that Nineveh's population could never have greatly exceeded the number implied in Jonah's account is furnished by modern statistical science. We know what the resources of our own

civilization are capable of yielding under fixed conditions; and can state precisely the reasons why neither the populations of Delhi, Agra, Benares, or Gour can rise above half a million. Nineveh stood in a valley not more fertile than those capitals of the Ganges. The organization of roads, canals, and commerce which now enable a single city to contain and subsist a great mass of congregated beings, are of modern invention. To enable such masses to provide themselves with the necessities of life there must be ten thousand centres instead of one, and immense independence of individual action; this can only be the offspring of freedom through long ages, and no one of these conditions ever existed in Assyria.

None of the historical books of the Old Testament give any details respecting Nineveh, although, as we shall see, its existence is more than once referred to. The prophets, however, make frequent incidental allusion to its magnificence, to the "fenced place," the "stronghold," the "valiant men and chariots," the "silver and gold," the "pleasant furniture," "carved lintels and cedar work." Zephaniah, who wrote about twenty-four years before the fall of Nineveh, says of it—

"This is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly;
That said in her heart, 'I am, and there is none beside me.' " ¹

Language which is strikingly recalled by an egotistical and boastful inscription, by which king Ternan-Bar commemorated his triumphs on one of the obelisks lately found at Nimroud.

For a long series of years the foreign relations of the Jewish kingdom turned upon Assyria, and from the commencement of that period we consequently meet with its empire in the sacred writings. This may be regarded as the second historical period of the Assyrian empire. The first king of Assyria named in Scripture is Pul or Phul, who appeared in the countries west of the Euphrates, in the days of Menahem, king of Israel (772 B.C.), upon whom he made war and carried off two tribes of his subjects, finally exacting from the weak monarch a tribute of a thousand talents of silver as the price of his maintenance on the throne.² We find the prophet Hosea making frequent allusions to the practice common to both the Hebrew kingdoms of throwing themselves for support on the kings of Assyria. The next Assyrian monarch mentioned by name is Tiglath-Pileser,³ of whose accession we have not the means of determining the date, although his intercourse with the Jewish nation is repeatedly mentioned.⁴ The usurper Pekah, who,

¹ Zephaniah ii. 15

² Chron. v. 26; 2 Kings xv. 19, 20.

³ Tiglath-pul-Assur, great Lord of the Tigris, called in Aelian "Thilgamus."

⁴ Kings xv. 29; xvi. 5—10; 1 Chron. v. 26; 2 Chron. xxviii. 16; Isaiah vii. 1—11.

by the murder of the hereditary monarch, had established himself as ruler of ten revolted tribes composing the kingdom of Israel, entered into treaty with Rezin king of Syria, with the object of expelling the race of David from the throne of Judah, and to place upon it a tributary of his own. If, as is probable, he hoped hereby to strengthen his power against that of Assyria, he signally failed. Ahaz, king of Jerusalem, whose throne was menaced by the movements of the confederates, called upon Tiglath-Pileser to advance to his assistance, offering him feudal allegiance and the temple treasures as the price of that service. "So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria, saying, 'I am thy servant and thy son: come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me.' And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria." Naturally willing to interfere in the disputes of his weaker neighbours, the king of Assyria advanced at the request of Ahaz, and laid siege to Damascus, subdued Syria, Galilee, and all the country east of Jordan, and sent the chief inhabitants of Syria to the banks of the Kir or Kúr,—a river which, uniting its stream with the Aras or Araxes, flows into the Caspian in N. lat. 390,—while those of Galilee were transferred to Assyria. This deportation of the Trans-Jordanic tribes was a foretaste of the captivity into which the entire kingdom of Israel was shortly to enter, never to return. Tiglath-Pileser soon proved not less dangerous as an ally than he could have been in the character of an enemy. The accumulated wealth of three centuries of prosperous trade was exposed to the view of the wily Assyrian, and with it the weakness of its possessors. The Syrians were subdued; but Tiglath-Pileser, instead of retiring to his own dominions, hovered dubiously about Jerusalem, as if in the hope of exacting a larger recompence.

From this point it would have been easy for him, had he been so disposed, to move against the Philistines and Edomites, who during the Syrian war had invaded the south and western frontiers of Judah, and made themselves masters of its strong cities; but it is said that "Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, came unto him and distressed, but strengthened him not; for Ahaz took away a portion out of the house of the Lord, and out of the house of the king and of the princes, and gave it unto the king of Assyria; but he helped him not." Ahaz and his successors had now to contend alone with the whole force of the king of Assyria, instead of with that of two petty princes.

The successor of Tiglath-Pileser was Shalmaneser, called in the apocryphal book of Tobit, Enemessar, who ascended the throne about 729 B.C. Ahaz still occupied the throne of David, and Hoshea was

king of Israel. Shalmaneser now resolved to complete the subjugation of Israel begun by his predecessor. He commenced by exacting of Hoshea¹ a tributary acknowledgment of subjection—"Hoshea became his servant, and rendered him presents." Growing weary of this dependence, the king of Israel attempted to negotiate a defensive alliance with So, at that time king of Egypt, then the only power that could pretend to rival the Assyrian, and proceeded so far as to withhold the annual tribute. Upon this rebellion Shalmaneser advanced into Samaria, where he carried on a campaign of three years, finally imprisoned its king, and carried away the Ten Tribes into his own country. The captive Israelites were sent to Halah and Habor, two cities by the river of Gosan, and into the cities of the Medes, a fact which shows that Media was not yet separated from Assyria. In their stead a number of Assyrian families from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, and Sepharvaim, were settled in Samaria, and, mingling with the few residuary Israelites, formed the Samaritan people whom we subsequently meet in the New Testament.

Sennacherib, the Assyrian king who succeeded Shalmaneser, appears in Scripture as a worthy follower of his warlike predecessor.

Since the inglorious reign of Ahaz, the kingdom of Judah had been numbered with the many states which confessed the superior lordship of Assyria. Hezekiah was the first king of Judah in whose patriotic judgment the risks of resistance were preferable to the ignominy of tame and spiritless servitude: "he rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not."² For fourteen years the prudence or disdain of the Assyrian withheld his arm from chastising this presumption; but in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, Sennacherib advanced, probably in the course of that expedition to Egypt, of which Herodotus has preserved the tradition, against the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. The approach of the eastern conqueror opened Hezekiah's eyes to the unequalness of the conquest he had provoked; and while the Assyrian camp was yet at Lachish, sent thither messengers bearing a most full and complete submission. "I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me I will bear," was the brief but expressive supplication of the revolted but now penitent king.³ Sennacherib received the submission thus tendered, but paid no regard to the conditions by which it was accompanied. In the exercise of his now re-acknowledged power, he appointed to Hezekiah a tribute or indemnification of thirty talents of gold and three hundred talents of silver—a weight of bullion which, if found to be of standard fineness, would exchange in "the City" for about £266,850. When to raise this large

¹ 2 Kings xvii. 3.

² 2 Kings xviii. 7.

³ 2 Kings xviii. 14.

sum Hezekiah had drained his own treasury, borrowed all the money of the Temple, and even stripped off the golden ornaments, with which in more auspicious days he had overlaid its doors and pillars, to send them to the invader, Sennacherib resumed the campaign, and sent his lieutenants with a large force to require the surrender of the king with his capital. The gasconading communications of these commissioners, as preserved by Isaiah, mark the arrogant and boastful character of the Assyrian people, and agree remarkably with the tone of the inscriptions lately brought to light at Nimroud. Rabshakeh pretends that his master is the especial messenger of God, deputed to subjugate the earth: he is the great king, the king of Assyria, and is ready not only to conquer the Jewish army, but, in pity to its weakness, to lend Hezekiah two thousand horses, &c. The signal catastrophe which cut short these insolent boastings, destroyed the Assyrian army, and with it the prestige of the empire, is described with beautiful simplicity by Isaiah: "Then the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when the morning dawned behold they were all dead men."¹

"Like the leaves of the forest when summer is green,
That host with their banners at sunset were seen.
Like the leaves of the forest when autumn hath blown,
That host on the morrow lay withered and strown."

Thus in one night perished one hundred and eighty-five thousand fighting men, a number which, considered as forming but one *corps d'armée* of the invading forces, gives an exalted idea of the military power of Assyria at this time. The prophet, in the elevated style of his age and country, states that the enemy were smitten by an "angel of the Lord," an assertion which by no means precludes the operation of a second cause. The piety of the Jewish prophets was accustomed to acknowledge the divine hand in whatever was greatly beneficial, whether effected by direct interposition or the familiar agencies of nature. Isaiah's words threaten the insolent conqueror with a "hot blast," and Jeremiah speaks of them as being cut off by a "destroying wind," or more literally, "a hot pestilential wind:" words which favour the probability that Sennacherib's army was destroyed by one of those hot winds which to this day sometimes envelope and destroy whole caravans.

Byron has adopted this view in his lines

"For the Angel of Death spread his wings on the blast,
And breathed in the face of the foe as he passed."

A tradition preserved by Herodotus, who received it from his favourite

¹ Isaiah xxxvii. 36.

authorities, the Egyptian priests, is too curious in resemblance to the Bible narrative to pass unnoticed. The priests transferring the entire event with admirable patriotism and devotion to their own country and the empire of their own deities, related that after the reign of Anysis there succeeded to the throne a priest of Vulcan named Setho, who treated the military caste with great severity, so that when Sennacherib advanced into Egypt with his army the soldiers would not go to oppose him. The priest-king in great perplexity repaired to the Temple and in an artless and sublime prayer cast himself for protection on the god of his fathers. The Egyptian, sinking into sleep, received from the god an assurance that he should sustain no injury. Accordingly he took with him such members of the merchant and artisan castes as were willing to accompany him to Pelusium where the descent was expected. When they had arrived there an immense number of mice spread themselves throughout the hostile camp in the night, gnawed asunder the bow-strings, quivers, and shield-straps of the soldiers, so that in the morning, finding themselves defenceless, they disbanded in confusion.

Such is the narrative of Herodotus, which confused as it is, and evidently made up by the priests, is yet obviously connected with the true story. The visit to the temple, the prayer, the vision and deliverance, are, as nearly as possible, alike in both versions, and grammarians have discovered that the title under which the Egyptian god who interposed on this occasion was worshipped was also ascribed to the Supreme Deity of the Jews.

The catastrophe which suddenly terminated the Jewish campaign paralyzed Sennacherib's forces just as a report reached him that Tirhakah, king of Cush, one of the greatest heroes of antiquity, was on his march to attack the Assyrian territory, and determined the king to lose no time in hastening back to his capital. "So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh. And while he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Armenia. And Esar-haddon his son reigned in his stead."¹ The death of Sennacherib added by the sacred writer immediately after the flight from Judea, for the sake of dismissing the subject, did not actually take place until some time after that event.



NISROCH

¹ Isaiah xxxvii 37, 38.

Such at least is the inference from a curious relic of antiquity which, for another reason, demands notice. In the Armenian version of Eusebius a fragment of the native historian Berosus is preserved. This ancient record states that after Sennacherib's brother had governed Babylon as Assyrian viceroy the government was usurped by Acises, Merodach, or Belodach-Baladan (Isaiah xxxix. 1; 2 Kings xx. 13.), and Elibus or Belibus. But after three years Sennacherib regained dominion in Babylon, and appointed his son Assordan, the Esar-haddon of scripture, to be viceroy there. This fragment of history explains how there could be in Hezekiah's time a king in Babylon to send him presents and letters, although both before and after Sennacherib that city was the capital of an Assyrian province. Berodach-Baladan was one of those three *de facto* kings; it may be that the misfortunes of the Assyrian campaign in Judea had tempted the Babylonian revolt, as it most likely did that of the Medes, which happened about this period. In any case, however, common hostility to Assyria would form a natural basis of alliance and friendship between the successful Hezekiah and the aspiring monarch of Babylon.

The flight of Sennacherib's murderers, who were at the same time the natural heirs of his crown, left the path to the throne open to Esar-haddon, his faithful son. Little is recorded of this monarch in the Bible. His great concern seems to have been to restore to his empire its lost military prestige, in which he was highly successful. One of his first enterprises was to recover the suzerainty of Syria and Palestine, which seems to have been in the hands of the Egyptians from the time of Hezekiah. His general advanced into Judah, defeated Manasseh, its king, overtook him in flight, and removed him into captivity. After two years' duress Manasseh was permitted to return to Jerusalem and pass the remainder of his life as an Assyrian vassal.

The empire of Assyria now fades away from the page of canonical scripture and is only to be traced on the transitional ground of the apocryphal writings. The author of the book of Judith preserves the memory of Nebuchodonosor, who ruled at Nineveh in the forty-eighth year of Manasseh, or B.C. 632. This king, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and fifty-seven years after the loss of Sennacherib's army, determined to attempt the reconquest of Media, then governed by Arphaxad. Previous to his taking the field he called upon his allies and tributaries, Persia, Cilicia, Samaria, Damascus, &c., to join him with their forces. An unwillingness to increase the power of their mighty neighbour, the remembrance of Sennacherib's reverses, and probably a confidence in the success of Arphaxad induced every one of them to avoid compliance with the request. Nebuchodonosor advanced with his own unaided army, gave battle to Arphaxad on the plain of Ragan, over-

threw his power, secured Ecbatana, his capital, took him prisoner, and put him to death.

Returning from Ecbatana, Nebuchodonosor celebrated his victory by a feast at Nineveh, which lasted one hundred and twenty days, and then prepared to chastise the countries which had refused their assistance while his success was doubtful. The power of Nineveh was now in its zenith, and to this period the graphic description of the prophet applies :—

“Lo, the Assyrian was as a cedar in Lebanon,
 With beautiful branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature,
 And his top was among thick boughs.
 The waters made him great, the deep set him up on high :
 It brought his streams about his plantation,
 And sent forth its little rivers
 Unto all the trees of the field.
 Therefore his height was exalted
 Above all the trees of the field ;
 And his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long,
 Because of many waters, when he shot forth.

In his boughs all the fowls of the heavens made their nests ;
 And under his branches all the beasts of the field brought forth their young ;
 And under his shadow dwelt an assembly of great nations.
 Thus was he beautiful in his greatness, in the length of his branches ;
 For his root was by many waters,
 The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him :
 The fir trees were not like his boughs,
 And the plane trees were not as his branches,
 Nor any tree in the garden of God
 Was like unto him in his beauty.
 I made him beautiful in the multitude of his branches,
 So that all the trees of Eden,
 Which were in the garden of God, envied him.”¹

From this hour, however, the glory of Assyria began to decline. The invasion of Judea by Holofernes the Assyrian general followed immediately upon the conquest of Nineveh. After long marches and numerous conquests that commander was disastrously beaten and slain, and his army put to the rout. How long Nebuchodonosor maintained himself on the throne is not known, but the effect of his military misfortunes on the renown of the Assyrian name is not doubtful. The empire, surrounded by younger and ambitious kingdoms, stood in need

¹ Ezekiel xxxi. 3—9.

of all its ancient prestige to secure it against aggression, and its main army was now disorganized and conquered.

The alliance of Cyaxares, son of Arphaxad, with Nabopolassar, the revolted satrap of Babylon, and their combined attack upon Assyria, will be noticed with the testimony of secular history in the succeeding chapter. The fall of Nineveh, which took place twenty-eight years after the rout of Holofernes' army, was anticipated by the Jewish captive Tobit, long a resident of that capital. Some of his latest instructions to his family are: "Go into Media, my son, for I surely believe those things which the prophet Jonas spake of Nineveh, that it shall be overthrown." "And now, my son, depart out of Nineveh: bury me decently, and thy mother with me, but tarry no longer in Nineveh."

While reading the details of the destruction of Nineveh, preserved by the secular historians, the predictions of the Hebrew prophets are forcibly suggested. An inundation of the Tigris swept away twenty furlongs of the city wall: "With an overwhelming flood will he make an utter end of the place thereof."¹ "The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved." "Nineveh is of old like a pool of water." The despairing monarch perished in the conflagration of the imperial residence. "The fire shall devour thy bars." "There shall the fire devour thee."² The spoil was divided between the conquerors: "Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store and glory of all the pleasant furniture."³

The ruin of the proud city, long the terror of nations, is celebrated by the prophet Ezekiel in bold and striking language:—

"— Thus saith the Lord Jehovah :

Because he was high in stature,
And set his top among the thick boughs,
And his heart was lifted up in his height;
Therefore I delivered him into the hand of a mighty one of the nations,
That dealt hardly with him : I drove him out for his wickedness.

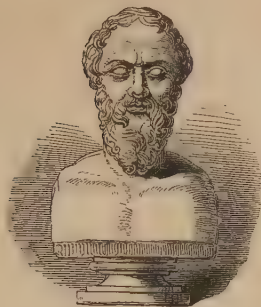
And strangers, the terrible of the nations, cut him down, and left him ;
Upon the mountains, and in all the valleys, his branches fell ;
And his boughs were broken by all the streams of the land :
And all the people of the earth went down from his shadow, and left him.
Upon his ruins dwelt all the fowls of the heavens ;
And upon his branches were all the beasts of the field :
To the end that none of all the trees by the waters
Exalt themselves for their stature,
Neither set their top
Among the thick boughs."⁴

¹ Nahum i. 8 ; ii. 6, 8. ² Nahum iii. 13, 15. ³ Nahum ii. 9. ⁴ Ezek. xxxi. 10, 14.

The history of Assyria, interesting in the highest degree as forming a very principal part of that of the ancient world, appeals even more directly to our sympathies. Assyria was the primitive country of the Hebrew nations. It was out of that country that Abraham came : and it was in bondage in the land whence their forefathers emigrated that the Jewish people closed their career as an independent nation. All their relations of affinity, of race, or religion, were with Assyria. They spoke a cognate language, had the same customs and feelings. On every occasion of revolt they turned to the idols worshipped in Nineveh or Babylon as their gods. The monuments, hieroglyphics, and inscriptions of Egypt have been ransacked in vain to find analogies illustrative of Jewish history, customs, and feelings ; the similarity was not more than exists, and must always exist between the Eastern people. The case is very different when we turn to Assyria : there is scarcely a fact, or an expression in the whole Bible that is not made clear by the knowledge we have already derived, or may hope hereafter to obtain from the discoveries in this long-buried land ; and they promise to supply us with exactly what we wanted to enable us to understand and realize what we there find written. For it is one of the peculiarities of the Jewish history, and certainly not one of the least singular, that all we know of that race is derived from their written books. Not one monument, not one sculptured stone, not one letter or inscription, not even a potsherd, remains to witness by a material fact the existence of the Jewish kingdom. No museum ever possessed a Jewish antiquity, while Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and all the surrounding countries teem with material evidence of former greatness, and the works of the people that once inhabited them.

“But if so singularly deficient in this respect, the Jewish history is far more complete in every other than that of the surrounding nations of their age ; for we now possess, not only her written chronicles, but what we may consider as her literature, while neither Assyria nor Egypt can boast of a single book that has at least come down to our day, or of whose existence we ever heard from any credible source. What therefore is deficient in one, the other must supply ; and this Assyria does for Judea : and now we shall be able to restore her forms and modes of utterance, with a certainty and distinctness of which none could have had a conception till these recent discoveries were made.”¹

* Fergusson's “Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored.”



HERODOTUS.

CHAPTER III.

THE NINEVEH OF CLASSIC WRITERS.

THE object of this chapter is to sketch out all that can be gathered of the history of Nineveh and its empire from the "classical" writers, not despising the aid of those historians of antiquity whose testimony is trustworthy, even though they may not usually be honoured with that distinctive epithet. A brief glance at the subsequent fate of the country will appropriately bring us to the examination of existing ruins.

The story of Assyria, as collected from uninspired testimony, has been often told, and generally with success, as long as one or two authorities only have been consulted; it is when we come to compare and attempt to harmonize the scattered and often incidental notices of many ancient writers that the difficulty commences. The causes of the vagueness and discrepancy which mark the statements which have come down to us are obvious. The ruins of Nineveh were as completely ruins in the emphatic historical sense of the word to the ancient classical writers, as are now the Roman remains at St. Alban's to the freeholders living there at the present day. We gather from all of them that it was one of the oldest, most powerful, and most splendid cities in the world; and that it perished utterly many hundred years before Christ. Babylon then became the capital of the Assyrian empire, and the charm of power passed finally from the Tigris to the Euphrates. On examining their details, we find names confounded, incidents transposed, and chronology by turns confused, extended, or inverted. Difficulties of another and more peculiar kind beset this path of inquiry, of which it will suffice to instance one illustration—proper names, those fixed points in history, around which

the achievements or sufferings of its heroes cluster, shift in the Assyrian nomenclature like quicksand. Both men and gods were designated not by a word composed of certain fixed sounds or signs, but by all the various expressions equivalent to it in meaning, whether consisting of a synonyme or a phrase. Proper names were not distinguished phonetically, but by sense, and our Layards, and Rawlinsons, must settle the vocabulary of the language before we can tell how many of the proper names which have come down to us belong to one individual.

After this premonition, we shall trouble the reader no further with technical considerations, but at once set out to track the stream of history, grateful even for the starlight in which much of the journey is to be accomplished. Thankful indeed we may well be when we remember in the face of what obstacles the information we inherit was collected.

Let our readers just fancy the difficulties under which an "ancient" laboured in getting a history together—when books were few, and histories to consult rare, and communications between places difficult. The most enterprising of them travelled for the purpose, and of course had to derive their information from what they were told on the spot. Thus, Herodotus, the Father of History, constantly repeats stories of fabulous origin, and mixes up what is evidently true with what his supereminent sagacity must have taught him was ridiculous. Fancy the present age destitute of printing, and paper dearer than velvet: a historian travelling from here to get an account of the recent continental revolutions would clearly bring back a good supply of "Miracles of Rimini," and would be told that Mazzini was an ogre, and Kossuth perhaps had two heads!

All ancient tradition ascribes the foundation of Nineveh to one Ninus, the commencement of whose monarchy is dated by Diodorus the Sicilian quoting Ctesias, more than 1000 years before the Trojan war (B.C. 2183). As Herodotus, generally a safe guide when he personally undertakes the responsibility of his stories, is silent on this point, and the reputation of Ctesias is somewhat cracked;¹ it may be as well to fortify his authority.

Africanus, quoted by Syncellus, states that the foundation of the Assyrian monarchy took place B.C. 2284. The Armenian historian Eusebius places it 1300 years before the fortieth year before the first Olympiad, or B.C. 2116. Æmilius Sura, quoted by V. Paternulus, says, it was B.C. 2145. By far the most distinct evidence on this subject, is contained in the extract from Polyhistor, found in the Armenian

¹ Aristotle says of this author, that he is utterly unworthy of credit; Plutarch accuses him of falsehood, and Aulus Gellius writes him down a knave.

Chronicle, which is, with good reason, believed to be an extract from the work of Berosus the ancient native historian, of which we shall have more to say. This Chronicle contains a table from the dynasties of the old Assyrian empire, assigning the date to each, and the addition of the figures gives the epoch 2317 B.C. as that of the foundation of the first monarchy. He thus attains a date fixed within certain limits, and not differing materially from that of the Biblical Chronology.

It will continue to be an interesting question, until the monuments and inscriptions of Nineveh set the matter at rest, whether the Ninus of classical antiquity can be identified with the Nimrod of sacred record. We saw in the preceding chapter that the latter word was probably an opprobrious appellation, and not a proper name. Scripture offers, therefore, no insurmountable opposition to the acceptance of the hero of profane testimony. The Biblical name Nineveh signifying "abode of Nin," perhaps contains the root of the founder's name, which, when increased by the Greek or Latin termination *on*, or *us*, would give the *Nîvon*, or Ninus, of the historians. The best authority we have on this subject is that of Berosus. This historian, who was a Babylonian, and a priest of Belus, and lived in the time of Alexander, wrote a history of his native country, from its first settlement. Fragments only of his work have come down, quoted by later writers, but since he may be supposed to have been well acquainted with the records of the Temple, and as his order was distinguished for its learning, his statement must be entitled to respect. Berosus states that Ninus, or Nimrod, using the words interchangeably, was the first king of Nineveh, and thus shows that, in his day, but one person was understood under these separate names. In the traditions of his own country, the founder of Nineveh was identified with the Greek Orion, and the horse and dog in the constellation bearing his name were associated with him. While this combination sustained the idea of him as a great hunter, the appellations assigned to him, Al-Gebir, the mighty, (synonymous with his Hebrew designation, Gibbor), completed the corroboration of that part of his scriptural character.

As we shall not again meet with Ninus in the primitive authors, a Latin historian may be permitted to inform us what his countrymen thought of their precursors in conquest. Justin, the Roman historian, who abridged the History of Trogus Pompeius in the second century, in the reign of Antoninus, gives a little account of him in the commencement of his work. He says, that at first the sole wish of the early kings was to guard their own confines. But, "first of all," says he, "Ninus, King of the Assyrians, changed this old, and, as it were, hereditary custom of these nations, by his lust of empire. He first brought wars against his neighbours, and conquered the people as

yet unused to resistance to the very boundaries of Libya,"—which name was anciently applied, by-the-by, to all Africa. "There were indeed (adds he) more ancient than he, Sesostris in Egypt, and Tanaus King of Scythia ; of whom, one brought war into Pontus, the other even to Egypt. But they brought distant wars, not neighbouring ones : they sought not empire for themselves, but glory for their people ; and content with victory, abstained from government ; Ninus confirmed the magnitude of his domination by continual possession. His neighbours therefore being subdued, when by accession of strength he was stronger, he passed to others, and every new victory being the instrument of the next one, he subdued the whole of the East. His last war was with Zoroaster, King of the Bactrians, who is reputed to have been the first to invent magical art, and to observe the principles of the world and the motions of the stars. Having killed him, he died himself,—leaving a boy Ninyas still in his childhood, and his wife Semiramis."—(Book I. c. i.) So far Justin, who, as our readers will perceive—even in our translation—affects here and there a certain sprightliness of epigrammatic expression, and skips over the victories in a lively way enough.

It is probable, however, that he has attributed some of the exploits of the founder of the Assyrian empire, which subsequently spread over Western Asia, to the builder of Nineveh, who established there his kingdoms, unless he is speaking of a Ninus II., as some have supposed.

With Ninus is associated a name famous all the world over, that of his wife, queen, and widow, the great Semiramis. Her's was a stock name of allusion and quotation among the old writers. As might be expected, we find all sorts of monstrous fictions about her : her beauty has been brought against her calumniously, and her genius interpreted into magic. Such were the misfortunes of being a great *woman* in antiquity ! Let us listen again to Justin.

"She, not daring to give up the government to a boy, nor herself openly to take it—so many and such great nations being scarcely likely to obey patiently one man, not to say a woman—pretends that she is the *son* of Ninus instead of his wife ; a boy, instead of a woman ; for her stature was mediocre, her voice sufficiently delicate, and the quality of her lineaments similar to the son. So, she covers her arms and legs with coverings, her head with a tiara ; and, lest she should seem to have some dark design by this dress, she orders her people to assume the same dress and ornament. . . . She then carried on great exploits ; by the magnitude of which, conceiving that she had overcome envy, she confessed her disguise. Nor did this take away from her, her regal dignity, but increased men's admiration ; because she, a woman, had excelled not only women, but men, in valour. It was she who built Babylon."

The ancient author, who is fullest on the subject of Semiramis, is Diodorus Siculus — Diodorus the Sicilian, who was a native of Agyrium, and lived in the last half century before Christ, being a contemporary of Cicero, Cæsar, Pompey, Cato the younger, and the great men of the last days of the Republic.

Diodorus gives us a long story which we need not be very credulous about :—How Semiramis was exposed when a child on a rock in Syria—how she was kept warm in this condition by a miraculous flock of pigeons—how two or three of them fed her—how she grew up in charge of the king's superintendent, and being loved by a great officer of king Ninus's, married him, and at his death charmed the king by her beauty into marrying her. Of course, all that is true of this account is the bare fact of her marriage with the king. Gentlemen of a certain school would speak with much contempt of the wonderful part of the story ; but we, seeing in it only a natural and honourable tendency on the part of our Asiatic brothers to endow with religious beauty what they could not thoroughly comprehend, will pass on.

The concurrent stories of antiquity are in favour of the greatness of her exploits. Justin says that she was the only monarch who ever penetrated to India before the time of Alexander. Diodorus says that having resolved to conquer India, she ordered her troops to rendezvous in Bactria (the ancient name of part of Persia). “She there,” says he, “found herself in want of elephants, on which occasion she hit on an ingenious expedient.” She resolved, it would seem, to make some “sham,” or what the theatres would call “property” elephants. To this end she provided “three hundred thousand black oxen ;” distributed the flesh among an enormous number of mechanics, and ordered them to sew up straw in the skins in an elephantine form. In each of these she put a man to govern it, and a camel to carry it, by which means the deception was complete. Her ingenious Majesty, however, was defeated by the Indian king, and had to return with scarcely a third of an army. Nevertheless, in the course of a reign of forty-two years, this queen helped to consolidate the oldest empire of which we have any record. It was told of her, that after her death, she was changed into “a pigeon ;” her memory has been changed into—what? The sum of the matter is, that at the bottom of all strange narratives, there does lie this fact, that a great queen *did* rule over Assyria, when the stained and broken stones now in our Museum were fresh and new.

Concerning the successors of Nimrod, or Ninus, or the warlike kings who extended their sway over Western Asia, we know almost nothing, until the revolt of Media, which is believed to have taken place about 700 or 800 years B.C. Herodotus says nothing of Assyria,

until he begins to relate how Media became a nation. Thus, he says, when speaking of an event which happened (before Christ) 711—that the Assyrians had ruled the Upper Asia 520 years before that: again, he talks of the *Assyrians of Nineveh who formerly ruled all the surrounding nations*. Further on, he speaks casually of the “Tigris on which Nineveh *once* stood.” This little mention we see, at once establishes its locality, and great antiquity. For Herodotus wrote B.C. 455, and had travelled in Asia. He mentions his intention of writing how Nineveh was taken “in another place.” But this “other place,” unhappily, is nowhere extant, any more than the town itself, and it is uncertain whether he ever executed the intention at all. Herodotus seems to have had no knowledge of the existence of the Assyrian state before the extension of its dominion over Upper Asia. That the Assyrian kingdom may not have been known much beyond its limits, until the time of its greatest prosperity, is highly probable, and this may account for the silence of ancient history, as well as that of the Jewish writers, which we noticed in the preceding chapter. We shall not detain the reader by an attempt to construct a chronological table from the mere dynastic lists which have come down in the writings of Greek and Armenian historians. Such a task, however valuable as an exercise of the inventive faculty, would weary, without enlightening. The foundation of an Assyrian monarchy about two thousand years before Christ, the existence of two distinct dynasties in Assyria, the first without doubt that of Nimrod and his successors, and the second probably that of the Khorsabad king, is pointed to by the testimony of ancient authors and of Scripture, and is in accordance with the evidence of the recovered monuments.

— The historical period, properly so called, of Assyrian history begins with the revolt of the Medes and the fall of the empire. Of this event we have two accounts from Greek authors; that of Ctesias is, in substance, as follows:—“The successors of Ninus had sunk into a state of slothfulness and debauchery, which rendered them not only incapable of any great or worthy deed, but at the same time a disgrace to their sex and to their race. These womanly habits so excited the contempt and perhaps the ambition of Arbaces, the commander of the Median contingent, which annually came from that province to do duty in the capital, that he conspired with Belysis, the Babylonian, and the commanders of the other forces, to dethrone Sardanapalus, the slothful possessor of the throne of Ninus. With an energy, however, which the previous description of the historian would scarcely have led us to expect, the king assumed the command of the forces that remained faithful to him, and defeated the rebels in three several actions; but lulled to security by his success, he was surprised at night by his enemies whose forces had been

recruited by some Bactrians who were coming to join the king, but were seduced by Arbaces from their allegiance. The consequence was a total defeat of the royal army, which enabled the rebels to lay siege to the capital; they do not, however, seem to have had the power of taking it, had not the river undermined a considerable portion of the wall, which, falling, left a breach in the fortifications. Being warned by a prophecy that the city must fall when the river becomes its enemy, Sardanapalus burned himself with all his valuables in his palace, and the city surrendered to Arbaces. In gratitude for his assistance Belysis was appointed king or rahat of Babylon." Such is the account of Ctesias. In which of the palaces Sardanapalus buried his friends, treasures, eunuchs and mistresses is uncertain; but the destruction of Nineveh does not seem to have taken place at this time. Diodorus makes Herodotus say that between the few events an interval of several generations occurred, and Ctesias gives the reigns of five kings besides Arbaces who reigned on Sardanapalus's throne.

The account of Herodotus, which is supposed to contradict that of Ctesias, is, that after the revolt of the Medes, each people governed themselves, by their own laws, for a period of time which he does not define, till Deioches, a Median, remarkable for his integrity and strict justice, procured his election as king, by his own countrymen; and neither carried on foreign wars, nor have we any hint of his interfering with the neighbouring states. His son, Phraortes, however, was more ambitious; and after subduing the Persians, he turned his arms against the Assyrians of Nineveh. This shows plainly that Nineveh was still a state governed by its own kings, and sufficiently powerful to resist the Median king, who was slain by them in battle and his army defeated.

His son, Cyaxares, succeeded; and desirous of avenging his father, again made war against the Ninevites, but was interrupted in his operations by the Scythian invasion. "This kept him in check for twenty-eight years; but on their losing their power through their licentiousness and misrule, Cyaxares returned to his war with the Ninevites, and this time with success, having defeated them, and taken their capital, which he must have nearly destroyed; at least we hear no more of it in history after this date."

Thus far Herodotus, who, so far from contradicting Ctesias, confirms and completes his statement, provided we bear in mind that Ctesias speaks of the advance and victory of Arbaces, and his establishment on the throne of Nineveh, and Herodotus of another Median, who more than a hundred years after arose in their native country, and gathered strength sufficient to overthrow the elder race.

The warlike character of the four kings, whose victories are recounted in Scripture, has led to the exceedingly probable opinion that they wer

not predecessors of Sardanapalus, but monarchs of the dynasty formed by Arbaces. The Median king Phraortes is the Arphaxad slain by Nebuchadnezzar, as related in the previous chapter. Herodotus states that Cyaxares, his son, was assisted in the expedition which destroyed Nineveh by Labynitus, king of Babylon, probably Nabopolassar, the Ahasuerus of Tobit. The date of the final overthrow of Nineveh admits of accurate determination. Herodotus has told us, that Cyaxares was interrupted in his preparations by the Scythian invasion, which lasted twenty-eight years from the battle of Rhajan, B.C. 634, to B.C. 607; and that after their expulsion Cyaxares invaded Assyria: it follows, therefore, that the overthrowing of Nineveh could not have occurred before 606 B.C. We gather from Scripture that Nineveh was standing in 609 B.C., but had fallen in 605 B.C.; the dates, therefore, are as nearly as possible coincident.

From this date we hear no more of Nineveh or the Assyrian state, and Babylon became the seat of the imperial power. The grand era of Babylonian greatness commences with Nebuchadnezzar, who succeeded his father shortly after the overthrow of Nineveh. Most of the great works for which his capital became famous, are due to him or to Nitocris, his queen. It is under this monarch that the Chaldeans, an old but hitherto powerless race, appeared in the scene as a great and warlike nation. It was they who invaded Judea, and carried away its people into captivity. Under Nebuchadnezzar, Babylon became the mistress of the East, and its vast power caused the jealousy of surrounding nations. Pharaoh-Necho was the first to take up arms against him, and after meeting with a rebuff in the kingdom of Judah, joined battle with the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish, was defeated and driven out of Asia. It was immediately after this that the Chaldeans marched upon Jerusalem, dethroned the king whom the Egyptians had set up, and carried away a great number of prisoners, among whom were Daniel and his three friends, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. At Jerusalem, revolt and reconquest succeeded subjection so frequently, until at length the country was scarcely worth possession. The conquest of Egypt seems to have been the crowning work of Nebuchadnezzar's active life; and on his return to Babylon, that monarch appears to have spent the remainder of his reign in improving and beautifying the city. Of the story of the Hanging Gardens, familiar to every reader, it is unnecessary to speak; the grandeur of the city has been a constant theme for poets.

The Chaldaeo-Babylonian empire comprehending all Western Asia, as far as the Mediterranean, never exceeded the limits it attained under the rule of Nebuchadnezzar, and on the death of its founder it began to decline. The book of Daniel relates how it fell under his third or fourth

successor, before the assault of Cyrus the Mede. Xenophon gives us the military details:—

“He came at last to Balyon,” (Institution, Book VII.) “bringing with him a mighty multitude of horse, a mighty multitude of archers and javelin men, but slingers innumerable!” He made preparations as if to blockade it, and the “people,” says the historian, “laughed,” for they knew that they had provisions for twenty years. It was then that Cyrus discovered, with a flash of genius, that great plan of ruining them which has always been so celebrated.

“He, Cyrus, dug round the wall on every side a very great ditch, and they threw up the earth towards themselves. In the first place, he built the turrets on the river, laying their foundations on palm trees that were not less than a hundred feet in length; for there are some of them that grow to a yet greater length than that; and palm trees that are pressed bend up under their weight as asses do that are used to the pack-saddle. He placed the turrets on these, for this reason, *that it might carry the stronger appearance of his preparing to block up the city.*”

Of course this stratagem divested the minds of the city from his real design. They laughed louder than ever—but—“*the ditches were now finished,*” says Xenophon.

The ditches lying there—gaping, as it were, like graves for the town—the Babylonians had a great festival. Cyrus, then, when it grew dark, “took a number of men with him, and opened the ditches into the river. When this was done, the water ran off in the night by the ditches, *and the passage of the river through the city became passable.*”

Cyrus marched in—gained possession—and thus Babylon was taken, B.C. 538. Cyrus spent the seven winter months there then, the climate being warm.

Babylon now remained subject to the Persian power which dated from this period a vast predominance in Asia. The army assembled in that city, at the close of the year in which it was taken, consisted, according to Xenophon, of “120,000 horses; 2,000 chariots armed with scythes; and 60,000 foot.” Cyrus’s empire at this period of glory was “bounded to the East,” to quote the same writer, “by the Red Sea: to the North by the Euxine (Black) Sea; to the West by Cyprus and Egypt; to the South by Æthiopia.” We may now therefore look back on Babylon as the winter quarters of the “Great King.”

Soon after the death of Cyrus there began dissension and degeneracy, and already his great structure of conquest began to crack at the extremities. During the two centuries which had elapsed since the taking of the city by Cyrus, the Persian power had fluctuated. Under Xerxes they invaded Greece in the most famous expedition of all antiquity, and were defeated and destroyed by land and sea—so that the attempt

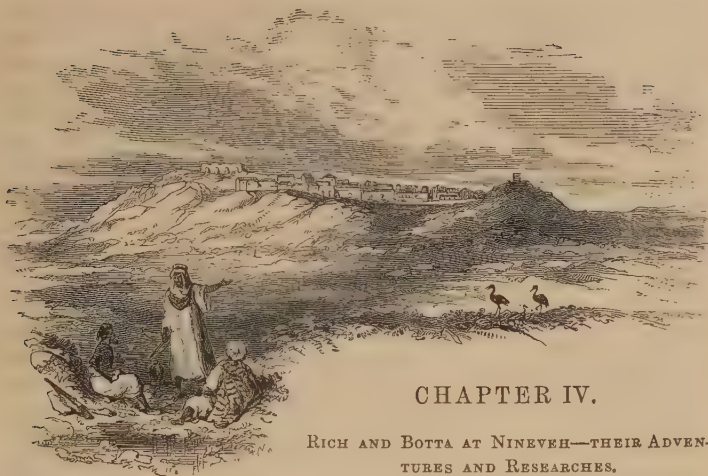
of their monarch became a proverbial illustration of the insanity of ambition.

Babylon of course fell under the sway of the all-conquering Alexander. "He traversed the whole province of Babylon," says Plutarch, which immediately made its submission. It was in this famous city that the great hero died of a fever, brought on by eastern habits."

The Seleucidæ for a time made Babylon the seat of an empire, which succumbed in power to the Romans, never having played a conspicuous part in the world's affairs. After this time, Babylon was of course only a distant and insignificant fragment of the Roman's empire of the world, and grew dimmer and dimmer in fame and importance.

Since these revolutions, new Eastern empires have risen and died ; and Empire has been travelling Northward less splendid—but cautious, practical, and industrious. Meanwhile, Nineveh and Babylon have sunk below the very earth's surface, as it were in a quicksand ; and the representative of Ninus and Belus is a Pacha, ruling with the two great objects of a Turkish ruler in these times—Pipes and Tribute !





CHAPTER IV.

RICH AND BOTTA AT NINEVEH—THEIR ADVENTURES AND RESEARCHES.

IMMENSE accumulations of bricks and rubbish marked the presumed sites of Babylon and Nineveh; but, although used during a long course of ages as quarries from which the modern inhabitants of the country drew the materials necessary for the construction of their towns, no vestige had been disclosed of the monuments that they must have served to support or cover. These two localities, when carefully explored by such observers as Niebuhr and Claudius James Rich, had not allowed them to distinguish any other traces of buildings than a few portions of different walls, of which they could not understand the plan. Rich was the East India Company's resident at Baghdad, and most meretoriously employed his leisure in the investigation of the antiquities of Assyria. He gave his first attention to Babylon, on which he wrote a paper originally published in Germany—his countrymen apparently taking less interest in such matters than the scholars of Vienna. In a note to a second memoir on Babylon, printed in London in 1818, we find Nineveh thus alluded to by Rich who speaks from then recent personal observation. He says, "Opposite the town of Mósul is an enclosure of a rectangular form, corresponding with the cardinal points of the compass; the eastern and western sides being the longest, the latter facing the river. The area, which is now cultivated and offers no vestiges of building, is too small to have contained a town larger than Mósul; but it may be supposed to answer to the palace of Nineveh. The boundary, which may be perfectly traced all round, now looks like an embankment of earth or rubbish, of small elevation; and has attached to it, and in its line, at

several places, mounds of greater size and solidity. The first of these forms the south-west angle; and on it is built the village of Nebbi Yunus (described and delineated by Niebuhr as Nurica), where they show the tomb of the prophet Jonas, much revered by the Mahometans. The next, and largest of all, is the one which may be supposed to be the monument of Ninus. It is situated near the centre of the western face of the enclosure, and is joined like the others by the boundary wall;—the natives call it Kouyunjik Tepè. Its form is that of a truncated pyramid, with regular steep sides and a flat top; it is composed, as I ascertained, from some excavations of stones and earth, the latter predominating sufficiently to admit of the summit being cultivated by the inhabitants of the village of Kouyunjik, which is built on it at the north-east extremity. The only means I had at the time I visited it of ascertaining its dimensions was by a cord which I procured from Mósul. This gave 178 feet for the greatest height, 1850 feet the length of the summit east and west, and 1147 for its breadth north and south. In the measurement of the length I have less confidence than in the others, as I fear the straight line was not very correctly preserved; and the east side is in a less perfect condition than the others. The other mounds on the boundary wall offer nothing worthy of remark in this place. Out of one in the north face of the boundary was dug, a short time ago, an immense block of stone, on which were sculptured the figures of men and animals. So remarkable was this fragment of antiquity that even Turkish apathy was roused, and the Pacha and most of the principal people of Mósul came out to see it. One of the spectators particularly recollected, among the sculptures of this stone, the figure of a man on horseback with a long lance in his hand, followed by a great many others on foot. The stone was soon afterwards cut into small pieces for repairing the buildings of Mósul, and this inestimable specimen of the arts and manners of the earliest ages irrecoverably lost. Cylinders like those of Babylon, and some other antiques, are occasionally found here; but I have never seen or heard of inscriptions. From the assurances given me by the Pacha of Mósul, I entertain great hopes that any monument which may be hereafter discovered will be rescued from destruction. A ruined city, as Major Rennel justly observes, is a quarry above ground. It is very likely that a considerable part of Mósul, at least of the public works, was constructed with the materials found at Nineveh. Kouyunjik Tepè has been dug into in some places in search of them; and to this day stones of very large dimensions, which sufficiently attest their high antiquity, are found in or at the foot of the mound which forms the boundary. These the Turks break into small fragments, to employ in the construction of their edifices. The permanent part of the bridge of Mósul was built by a late Pacha wholly with stones found in the part of

the boundary which connects the Kouyunjik with Nebbi Yunus, and which is the least considerable of all. The small river Khausar traverses the area above described from east to west, and divides it nearly into two equal parts; it makes a sweep round the east and south sides of Kouyunjik Tepè, and then discharges itself into the Tigris above the bridge of Mósul. It is almost superfluous to add that the mount of Kouyunjik Tepè is wholly artificial."

Rich made Nineveh the subject of a further paper, but all the results he arrived at were that a granite lion at Babylon, the fragment of a statue at Kalah Sherkat, on the banks of the Tigris, and a bas-relief at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beyrout, were productions of Assyrian art. Rich, as we just found him saying, had *heard* of an immense bas-relief which had been dug out of a mound situated near the village which still bears the name of Nineveh; but he had not seen it, and was only able to regret its destruction caused by Mussulman ignorance and fanaticism. All he and others had really discovered in the way of Assyrian antiques might have been packed up in a box a few feet square! In the various museums of Europe a small number of seals and cylinders, covered with mythological emblems, were carefully collected, which were believed to prove that the Assyrians were acquainted with the process of working the hardest materials, but, generally, little calculated to give us a just idea of the skill it has since been found they had acquired in the art of representing objects. In a word, it may be said that though we had some belief in the existence of Assyrian art, Assyrian architecture and Assyrian sculpture were totally unknown to us.

As to inscriptions we were no richer than in the works of the Assyrian artists. The European museums possessed none but those impressed upon the bricks which had been obtained from the mounds of Babylon and Nineveh. The chief of these was an inscription engraven on a stone sent to London by Sir Harford Jones, and preserved in the museum of the East India Company; and one upon a small block of basalt in the *Cabinet des Antiques* of the National Library of Paris, known by the name of *Caillou de Michaud*. The mottoes of a few cylinders and some insignificant fragments completed all our riches in this department. Copies of inscriptions were more numerous, but they all came from monuments situated beyond the limits of Assyria, properly so called. M. Schulz had collected a considerable number on the banks of the lake of Van, and the Assyrian transcriptions of the inscriptions of Persepolis had also been more or less faithfully copied. Unfortunately the subjects of these inscriptions, Armenian as well as Persian, were, most frequently, but the reproduction of one another, and, consequently, even if we had been able to read them, they would not have furnished us

with very varied information. Besides, the writing of the Assyrian inscriptions found in different places was sufficiently different for us, with some reason to doubt that they all belonged to the same people; they offered but limited means of comparison, and hence were little fitted to serve as materials for study; and, lastly, historical science would have gained but little if we had succeeded in deciphering them.

It may, then, without exaggeration, be asserted, that up to within a short time, we possessed nothing which could add to what the ancient writers had handed down to us concerning the history and the arts of Assyria. It was, however, evident that so powerful an empire, and one which had lasted so long, could not have disappeared without leaving some trace; and it was to be hoped that when favourable circumstances should allow the ground to be more attentively explored than it had hitherto been, we should succeed in discovering monuments, which, if carefully studied, would fill up an important gap in archæology; and thus, when M. Botta was sent by the French government, as consular agent, to Mósul, his friend M. J. Mohl strongly advised him to make researches on the spot that history and tradition both agreed in pointing out as the site of Nineveh.

His success surpassed his hopes. His labours, which were at first fruitless, soon led to the discovery of an immense monument, to be compared with regard to richness and ornament to the most sumptuous productions bequeathed to us by Egypt. For the first time the arts of Assyria stood revealed; and it could be seen that there was no exaggeration in the accounts which sacred and profane writers had given of the antique civilization of which all trace seemed to be lost.

Botta, in the narrative of his researches at Nineveh, which has been published in several handsome folio volumes, through the liberality of the French government, after summing up the amount, or rather the deficiency, of our knowledge of the great Assyrian cities before the period of the recent excavations, prefaces his adventures at Khorsabad by an account of the circumstances that led him to the neighbourhood of that place.

The French government, it seems, having come to the conclusion that it was advisable to send a consular agent to Mósul, chose Botta to fulfil that office. Before his departure for the town in question, which was in the beginning of the year 1842, Monsieur J. Mohl, the accomplished translator of "Firdousi," called his attention to the archæological interest of the place, and strongly pressed him to make excavations in the neighbourhood of his future residence; as it was well known that the documents furnished by the ancient authors, as well as local tradition, confirmed by traces which were still evident, agreed in placing the ancient capital of the Assyrian monarchy on the eastern bank of the Tigris opposite Mósul.

Botta promised Monsieur Mohl that he would not forget this good advice, but he felt that before being enabled to keep his promise the definitive establishment of the consulship at Mósul must place at his disposal both more considerable pecuniary resources, and more powerful means of action than he then possessed. In the meanwhile he employed himself in collecting every small object of antiquity which appeared to be at all interesting, and made the necessary inquiries for pitching upon a favourable spot for really serious researches.

Botta was not as fortunate in his acquisition of antiquities as he could have hoped from the report of Rich. That accurate and learned observer had had the good fortune to purchase in the neighbourhood of Mósul several objects of interest, and Botta had, in consequence, pictured to himself the locality as a most fruitful mine. A residence of several years had caused him to entertain a different opinion. Mr. Rich being the first to enter upon the still virgin ground, had at once collected all that chance had amassed in the hands of the inhabitants during a long series of years, and no conclusion as to the real abundance of objects of antiquity to be found in the neighbourhood of Mósul could properly be drawn from this fact. With the exception of a few fragments of bricks and pottery, Botta had never been able to collect anything in the way of antiquities which he could be sure were indigenous (so to speak), and as he spared neither time nor expense to procure them, he had good reason to believe that they were not common; the cylinders in particular, those relics of Assyria, so curious on account of the emblems with which they were covered, were very rare at Mósul, and out of all those which fell into his hands there was not one that he knew of which had been found upon the territory of Nineveh. All those which he could trace—and this was the case with the greater number—had been brought from Baghdad, and consequently from Babylon and its neighbourhood. The source of the others was unknown. The same held good with the Assyrian seals; almost all of them came from Baghdad; and in the following pages the reader will find that this carefulness of small objects of antiquity was confirmed by the researches made by Botta at Nineveh and Khorsabad; for during the whole period of the excavations not a single cylinder was discovered. Our antiquary draws attention to this fact, because it is one that was scarcely expected, and which will, perhaps, modify the received opinions regarding the real source of these engraved mythological stones.

The success of Botta's inquiries with a view to find a fitting spot for his researches was not more encouraging; and the reports of the inhabitants furnished him with nothing certain on this head. The spot which appeared to offer the greatest chance of success, and to which he naturally first directed his attention, was the mound on which is built

the village of Niniouah, then believed to be the last remnant of the immense city of which it preserves the name, for it was there that Mr. Rich had observed subterranean walls covered with cuneiform inscriptions—too valuable a sign to be overlooked. The number and importance, however, of the houses with which the mound was covered did not allow of Botta making any researches. Every attempt of the kind was repelled by the religious prejudices of the inhabitants, for it is there that the mosque of Nabi-Younès is built. According to the tradition of the place, this mosque, as its name implies, contains the tomb of the prophet Jonas, and the ground is regarded as sacred. He was thus obliged to look for some other spot, but in the vast space covered with the traces of ancient edifices which surround the village of Niniouah, there was nothing that could guide him with any degree of certainty. A great many erroneous opinions have been disseminated with regard to the actual condition of the ruins of Nineveh: they have been represented as a mine in constant requisition for supplying bricks and stones for the erection of the houses of Mósul, and thus assimilated to the ruins of Babylon, which have for ages furnished, and still continue to furnish, the necessary building materials for the surrounding towns, “Such, however,” says Botta, “can scarcely have been the case at Nineveh at any period, and very certainly it is not so in the present day. The reason is plain: all that exists of the ruins of the ancient city, boundary walls, and mounds, is formed of bricks which were merely baked in the sun: these bricks have been reduced by age into an earthy state, and consequently cannot be used again.” Botta goes on to say, “There can be no doubt but that in the construction of these ancient buildings more solid materials, such as stones and kiln-burnt bricks, were sometimes employed, and this accounts for their being accidentally discovered; but they were merely employed as accessories—the mass of the walls was composed of unburnt bricks. Thus, in this particular, there is not the least similarity between Nineveh and Babylon: the ruins of the latter city offer an immense quantity of excellent bricks; they have, consequently, been capable of being used as quarries, but the masses of earth, which are the only remains of Nineveh, could not be employed for a like purpose. It would, besides, be difficult to understand why people should trust to chance for obtaining a few rare materials, when quarries of gypsum, which are far less expensive to work than a series of uncertain excavations would be, are situated at the gates of Mósul.” Layard has since demonstrated the existence of more stone under the ruins of Nineveh than his French predecessor believed in.

Botta further tells us that it was only in the immediate vicinity of Mósul, and very often within the city itself, that the inhabitants had sometimes looked for materials: they had found there, at the depth of

a few feet, the remains of ancient buildings; but, in spite of all his researches, he could not observe a single sign which would allow of his assigning these remains to a period anterior to the foundation of the present town. Never, to his knowledge, had these operations brought to light ancient bricks or stones with cuneiform inscriptions, with both of which the inhabitants are at present well acquainted, and of which they would certainly have brought him the smallest remnant, had they found any; he was therefore convinced that the walls existing under the ground in the interior of Mósul, or near the city gates, were comparatively modern,—either the foundations or the subterranean apartments¹ of the houses which were ruined at a time when the city, as was still the case but a few years ago, occupied a much more considerable space than it does at the present day.

As regarded the ruins situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, Botta says he never heard in the course of a residence of several years, that any excavations were made there for the purpose of obtaining building materials; nor had he ever seen in the houses at Mósul the least trace of antique remains, although he took particular pains to discover them. The walls were not, as had been reported, built of brick and coated with gypsum, and he did not find a single instance where such was the case. The walls of all the houses are formed of gypseous or calcareous stone, rudely joined with plaster, and the same plan prevails in the vaults of the largest edifices. A few old mosques only are constructed of bricks, but their form, their size, and the absence of any cuneiform inscription, prove that those bricks do not come from the buildings of Nineveh. He mentions another fact, in order to show how little the inhabitants of Mósul are accustomed to look for, in the neighbouring ruins, the materials they may require. The Pacha of Mósul, being desirous of constructing ovens for the use of the garrison of that town, hastened to Botta for the bricks which the works undertaken at Khorsabad had brought to light. It is very certain, argues the French antiquary, that if, as has been reported, the Pacha had possessed an abundant supply at the gates of the town, or if it had been easy to obtain them, he would not have sent a distance of four leagues for them.

Not having, therefore, any precedent to guide him in his researches, and not daring, he says, to open the mound of Nabi-Younès, Botta selected the mound of Kouyunjik as the spot for commencing operations. This mound is situated to the north of the village of Niniohah,

¹ In the houses of Mósul, as well as in those of Bagdad, there is always a subterranean apartment, called in those parts, *Serdâb*; the inhabitants retreat thither, in summer, to pass the hottest hours of the day. In order to be rendered inhabitable, these apartments have to be coated with thin slabs of Mósul gypsum, and the walls are, besides, constructed with the greatest solidity, since they have to support the whole weight of the superincumbent buildings. This fact may explain their preservation underground.

to which it is joined by the remains of an ancient wall of unburnt bricks. It was evidently an artificial mass, and, to all appearance, formerly supported the principal palace of the kings of Assyria. On the western side, near the southern extremity of this hill, a few bricks of a large size, joined with bitumen, seemed to be the remains of some ancient building. It was at this spot that Botta commenced his researches in the month of December, 1842.

The results of these first works were unimportant, but they were not, however, without interest, if compared with the discoveries subsequently made. The workmen brought to light numerous fragments of bas-reliefs and inscriptions, but nothing in a perfect state was obtained to reward the trouble and outlay. In spite, however, of the unfavourable prospect, for three months these almost fruitless researches were continued.

Botta's proceedings had meanwhile attracted attention. Without exactly knowing what was their object, the inhabitants were aware that he was in quest of stones bearing inscriptions, and that he bought all that were offered. In consequence of this, and as early as the month of December, 1842, an inhabitant of Khorsabad had been induced to bring him two large bricks with cuneiform inscriptions, which had been found near the village, and offered to procure him as many more as he wished. This man was a dyer, and built his ovens of the bricks obtained from the mound on which the village was built: reckoning, however, on the success of his first excavations, he did not immediately follow up this faint and solitary hint. Three months later, however, about the 25th of March, 1843, being weary of finding in the mound of Kenyunk nothing save small fragments without any value, he called to mind the bricks of Khorsabad, and sent a few workmen to sound the ground there. Such was the manner in which he was led to a discovery which surpassed all hopes.

Three days afterwards, one of Botta's workmen returned from Khorsabad with the intelligence that they had dug up some figures and inscriptions: the description, however, which he gave was so confused, that the antiquary himself would not run the chance of making a journey for nothing: and he did not go to verify in person a fact of which he was as yet incredulous, but contented himself with sending one of his servants, and ordering him to copy a few of the characters of the inscriptions. In this way he acquired the certainty that these inscriptions were cuneiform, and hesitated no longer to proceed personally to Khorsabad, where, with a feeling of pleasure which the reader will easily understand, he saw, for the first time, a new world of antiquities revealed to him.

His workmen had been fortunate enough to commence the excavations

tions precisely in that part of the mound where the monument was in the most perfect state of preservation, so that he had only to follow the walls which had already been discovered to succeed most certainly in laying bare the whole edifice. In a few days all that remains of a chamber, with façade, covered by bas-reliefs, had been discovered. On his arrival at the scene of action, he immediately perceived that their remains could form but a very small portion of some considerable building buried in the mound, and, to assure himself of this, he had a well sunk a few paces further on, and instantly came upon other bas-reliefs which offered to view the first perfect figures he had seen. He found, also, on his first visit, the two altars, and those portions remaining of the façade α , which jutted out above-ground at the other extremity of the mound. Finally some one who accompanied him drew his attention to a line of mounds which formed the grand enclosure.

In a letter dated the 5th of April, 1843, he hastened to announce the success of his first operations to Monsieur Mohl, and to send him a plan of all that had as yet been laid bare; adding some copies of different inscriptions, and some drawings. The latter were undoubtedly very defective, but they possessed at least the merit of *naïveté*. The letter was laid before the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres in Paris, July the 7th, 1843, and was subsequently printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of that city.

Notwithstanding some difficulty, occasioned by the unfavourable disposition of the Pacha of Mósul and the fears of the inhabitants of the village, Botta caused the works to be continued with a degree of activity continually increased by the abundant harvest which they yielded, and on the 2nd of May, 1843, he was enabled to send to Monsieur Mohl a second letter, more important than the first, and accompanied with fresh inscriptions and drawings. At this period the excavations had laid bare doors and chambers, and portions of a wall ornamented with bas-reliefs were discovered. Botta's second letter addressed to Monsieur Mohl was, like the first, communicated to the Academy of Inscriptions and inserted in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Paris.

Up to this epoch the works at Khorsabad, as well as those in the mound of Kouyunjik, had been carried on at Botta's expense, and the smallness of his personal resources threatened soon to put an end to them, even though that learned friend had been kind enough to come to his assistance. But the attention of the learned world had, in the meantime, been greatly excited by the account of the first fruits of his labours, and they had obtained for him the means of continuing those researches, the subsequent success of which was certain. On the demand of Monsieur Mohl, whom Messrs. Vitel and Letroune kindly hastened to support with their influence, the French government decided on giving

a fresh proof of that generosity with which it is always so ready to facilitate scientific researches. By a decision of the 24th of May, 1843, Duchâtel, Minister of the Interior, placed at Botta's disposal a sum of 3000 francs, that he might thenceforward carry on the works with more activity and on a more extensive scale than before.

Botta had, however, to contend with fresh obstacles at every step. The marshy environs of the village of Khorsabad have a proverbial reputation for insalubrity—a reputation which was fully justified by his own personal experience and by that of the workmen employed. They all, in turns, felt its dangerous effects, and, on one occasion, the antiquary himself was very nearly falling a victim. But this was the least of his difficulties; the unfavourable disposition of the local authorities was one which caused even more uneasiness, and one which was most difficult to surmount. It is a well-known fact that the Moslems, too ignorant themselves to understand the real motives of scientific researches, always attribute them to cupidity, which is the only spring of their own actions. Not being able to comprehend that the sums laid out are for the purpose of obtaining ancient remains, they believed that the search was for treasures. The inscriptions, copied with so much care, are in their eyes the talismanic guardians of these treasures, or point out the spots where they are concealed. Others, who no doubt think themselves more cunning, fly for the explanation of these researches to a still more eccentric supposition; they imagine that their country formerly belonged to the Europeans, and that these latter search for their inscriptions in order to discover therein the title by which their rights are proved, and by the help of which they may one day or other lay claim to the Ottoman Empire!

These absurd prejudices could not fail to influence the avaricious and suspicious mind of Mehmed Pacha, who was then governor of the province of Mósul, and it was not long ere he began to grow uneasy at the researches, although he had, at first, authorized them. Taken up with the idea of the treasures hidden in the ruins which were being brought to light, he at first confined himself to having the workmen watched by guards, and when the slightest object formed of metal was found in the course of the excavations it was seized and carried to him. These relics he submitted to every possible kind of proof to convince himself that they were not gold; and then fancying that, despite this watching, the men who were employed might still succeed in keeping from him objects of value, he threatened them with the torture to make them reveal the existence of these imaginary treasures. Several of the workmen were, in consequence, on the point of leaving such service, notwithstanding all the assurances of protection Botta could give them, so well did they know the cruel disposition of Mehmed Pacha. Each

day some threat of a fresh combat, and every moment Botta had to recommence his negotiations, and he would, perhaps, have been driven to throw the matter up in disgust had he not been encouraged by the certainty of the extreme interest of his discovery. The works, however, although often interrupted by these petty annoyances, gradually advanced until about the commencement of the month of October, 1843, when the Pacha, in obedience, perhaps, to hints emanating from Constantinople, formally prohibited all further search. Some pretext or other was necessary, but a Turkish governor is never at fault in this respect, and the following is the one he invented : Botta had built, with his express permission, a small house at Khorsabad, in order that he might have a place to stop in when he visited the ruins. The Pacha pretended that this house was a fortress erected to command the country; he informed his government of this grave fact, and the innocent researches of the zealous antiquary suddenly assumed the proportions of an international question!

Botta lost no time in taking measures to obtain the removal of this prohibition. On the 15th of October, 1843, he despatched a courier to the French ambassador at Constantinople, informing him of what had occurred, and begging him to apply to the Sultan for such orders as might be necessary to enable him to continue without impediment the works which were, at that period, being executed at the command and expense of the French government. While awaiting the result of the steps taken by the ambassador, he had the greatest difficulty in prevailing upon Mehmed Pacha not to pull down his house at Khorsabad or fill up the excavations, which he affected to believe were the ditches of the pretended fortress. At last, however, he granted the persecuted *savant* a respite, in the hope that his falsehoods would gain credit at Constantinople, and that the Sultan would approve of his conduct. The means which he employed for this purpose were very curious, and affords an illustration of the way in which the Turkish government is continually being deceived as to what takes place in the provinces of the empire. The inhabitants of Mósul knew, from long experience, that Mehmed Pacha shrunk from no means by which he might attain his ends, and fear rendered them obedient to his will. He first obliged the Cadi of Mósul to go to Khorsabad and draw up a false account of the extent of the pretended fortress; this report was sent to Constantinople, accompanied by an imaginary plan, calculated to inspire the most horrible ideas of Botta's poor hut. He then had a petition against the continuation of the researches drawn up, and compelled the inhabitants of Khorsabad to sign; this petition also was sent to Constantinople. During all this period Mehmed Pacha never desisted from his protestations of friendliness towards Botta; he assured him that he was a com-

plete stranger to all the difficulties that impeded the scientific work, and gave him, in writing, the most favourable orders, while he immediately afterwards threatened the inhabitants with the bastinado in case they were unfortunate enough to obey him. One single trait in this long comedy will show the manner in which Mehmed Pacha played his part. "I told him one day," says Botta, "that the first rains of the season had caused a portion of the house erected at Khorsabad to fall down." "Can you imagine," said he, laughing in the most natural manner, and turning to the numerous officers by whom he was surrounded, "anything like the impudence of the inhabitants of Khorsabad? they pretend that the French consul has constructed a redoubtable fortress, and a little rain is sufficient to destroy it. I can assure you, sir, that were I not afraid of hurting your feelings I would have them all bastinadoed till they were dead; they would richly deserve it, for having dared to accuse you." "It was in this manner," continues the justly indignant Frank, "that he spoke, while he himself was the author of the lie, and his menaces alone were the obstacle which prevented the inhabitants from exposing it."

At the expiration of a little time however, Mehmed Pacha perceived that the shameful tricks he was carrying on did him more harm than good. His position was no longer sure, and as he desired a reconciliation Botta was in full hope of obtaining permission to continue his operations, when the Pacha's death, which took place in the interval, afforded him the wished-for opportunity. But by this time he knew the intentions of the French government, and was expecting that the draughtsman he had asked for was on his way to Mósul. He had found how quickly the sculptures lost their freshness when once exposed to the air, and thought it better to await this gentleman's arrival, as he could then copy the bas-reliefs as they were dug out. Besides this he had no doubt but the French ambassador would obtain such orders as would effectually prevent all future annoyance, and he, therefore, did not think it advisable to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the Pacha's demise. He was desirous not to commence until he had obtained the means of continuing the work without fear of interruption, and with every chance of turning it to account. During the interval of delay he finished the copies of the inscriptions already discovered, and conveyed into the court-yard of his house at Khorsabad all the bas-reliefs which he judged worthy of being sent to France.

Up to the period of his researches being interrupted, he had brought to light a large number of monuments. He had opened a door, and at the feet of one of the winged bulls which ornamented it, had found a bronze lion, the only one remaining of all which must formerly have ornamented the doors. While the workmen were digging to lay the foundations of his house, they had discovered the head of one of the

bulls of another door : and this single fact would have convinced him, had he not been before satisfied, that the whole space was full of ancient remains. Lastly, the accounts received from the inhabitants of the town, allowed no room for doubting that there were also ruins buried at the place where, at a later period, he found the small monument of basaltic stones. He possessed, therefore, the most unmistakeable signs of the existence of archæological treasures throughout the whole extent of the mound, and his conviction on this head was so great, that he invariably expressed it in his letters to his friend Mohl.

The Paris Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, had followed the progress of Botta's discoveries with the liveliest interest. The certainty there was of arriving at still greater results than those already obtained, had induced them to second the demand he had made for a draughtsman who was better qualified than himself to preserve, by an exact copy, those sculptures which it would be impossible to send to France. This demand had been granted, and by decisions of the 5th and 12th October, 1843, precisely at the period that the Pasha of Mósul was stopping his researches, the Ministers of the Interior and of Public Instruction had adopted measures for furnishing him with means of terminating his undertaking in a manner worthy of the French government. A fresh sum of money was placed at his disposal for the continuation of the works, and, on the suggestion of the academy, Monsieur E. Flandin, a young artist, who, conjointly with Monsieur Coste, had already been employed on a similar mission, was selected to proceed to Khorsabad to copy the sculptures already found and which might yet be discovered. At the same time, the ministers decided that all the sculptures which were in a state to admit of their removal should be conveyed to France, and that a publication dedicated especially to the purpose should make the world acquainted with Botta's discoveries.

But we must return to Khorsabad. Botta still had to obtain the consent of the Porte, and those who are ignorant of the resources which Ottoman diplomacy derives from falsehood, would hardly imagine all the difficulties that the French Embassy had to overcome in order to prevail upon the Divan no longer to feign a pretence of a belief in those phantom fortifications, said to have been erected by the Consul of France at Mósul. Some more real obstacles, however, founded upon certain peculiarities of the Mahometan law, were added to this ridiculous pretext. The village of Khorsabad was built over the monument it was desirable to lay bare. To do this, it was necessary that the inhabitants should remove to some other spot, and pull down their old houses. But the law permits no encroachment upon lands suitable for cultivation, and, consequently, the space destined for the new village could not be taken from the grounds of this description around the mound.

But the perseverance of the French Ambassador, Baron de Bourqueney, finally triumphed over the reluctance of the Porte. By virtue of a special agreement, the inhabitants of Khorsabad were authorized



VILLAGE OF KHORSABAD.

to sell their houses and to locate themselves temporarily at the foot of the mound. Botta's house, which had been the cause of so many disputes, he was allowed to retain until the conclusion of the works. The researches were permitted on condition that the ground should be restored to the state in which Botta found it, in order that the village might be rebuilt on its former site, and a commissioner was sent to Khorsabad from the Porte in order to avoid any fresh difficulties. This arrangement, however, rendered almost interminable by the unwillingness of the Divan, had taken up several months, and it was not before the 4th of May, 1844, that Monsieur Flandin could reach Mésul, bringing with him the firmans which had been asked for more than twelve months previously.

Nothing now prevented the resumption of the works. Botta had at disposal funds sufficient for clearing the whole building: the artist Flandin had arrived to copy the bas-reliefs, besides affording other active and cordial co-operation. The necessary measures for immediately commencing the works were taken and they were pushed on briskly. In the first place, it was necessary to clear the ground of the houses upon it; this was an easy task and there was little difficulty in satisfying the humble proprietors, who themselves desired the removal of the village, and were but too happy to effect it at the expense of the stranger-antiquary. But Botta had likewise to indemnify the proprietors, or rather the tenants of the ground on which the new village was to be built, and their expectations were so exorbitant that they would have swallowed up a great part of the sum placed at his disposal, if the new Pasha, by accidentally reminding him of one of the peculiarities of the Mahometan law, had not himself supplied the means of obliging them to moderate

their demands. A short digression on this curious subject will afford an interesting and exact idea of the difficulties which were opposed to the purchaser of the village of Khorsabad.

It has been said that the village and the surrounding grounds were the property of a mosque, and consequently could not be sold without infringing the law, which does not allow the sale of any property which has become *wakf*: this is an error. The houses belonged to the peasants who lived in them, but the ground on which the village was built, as well as the ground in the neighbourhood, was owned by several individuals, each of whom had a greater or less share of the profits. But these persons were not the real proprietors, for in Mahometan countries there is no real property, but a simple right of possession paid for every year by a ground-rent. All the soil intended for cultivation, with the exception of the gardens and orchards, belongs to an abstract being, the Imân, who represents the Mahometan community, and is himself represented by the sovereign. The latter being, as it were, nothing more than a guardian, disposes of the ground in favour of the interests of the community which he represents, but cannot alienate it by a complete sale. He can never concede more than a temporary grant in return for an annual rent or service. Sometimes, it is true, these grants were transmitted by means of inheritance or sales; but this was an abuse, a real infringement of the law. In this manner the Viceroy of Egypt, Mehmed Ali, was able to recover without difficulty from the usurpers of the public domain the possession which long abuse had perpetuated in their families; and during Botta's residence at Mósul this example was followed without any more ado, by the Turkish government. In 1845 the Porte revoked all the old grants of land in this province, and commanded that for the future they should be annual, and sold by public auction.

Such was the state of matters at Khorsabad. The seven individuals who owned the ground between them—the principal of whom was Yahia Pasha, a former governor of Mósul—had no right of real property, but merely a right of possession perpetuated by abuse in their families; this furnished a weapon against their cupidity. When Botta was treating before the Pasha for the purchase of the house, the accredited agent of these persons had the imprudence to claim an indemnity for the land they stood on. The Pasha replied that they had no right to any, because the Sultan alone was lord of the soil, and disposed of it as he chose. This was a hint for the plundered antiquary. Relying upon this argument, he easily prevailed upon the proprietors to accept with gratitude, a reasonable indemnity which he would, had he chosen, have had the right to refuse. They themselves, however, felt so clearly how little their demand was really founded on right, that they refused to give him

a receipt, and begged him to be silent upon the matter for fear their conduct should reach the Pasha's ears.

To return to Botta's narration. The misfortunes of others now placed at his disposal the number of workmen necessary for the speedy clearance of the rest of the monuments. A few months previously, the fanaticism of the Kurds had finished by triumphing over the resistance which the courage of the Nestorians had for ages made against them. Intrenched in the lofty mountains where the Zab takes its rise, these Christians, who were the remains of one of the most ancient sects that separated from the Catholic church, had been, up to that time, enabled to escape from the Mahometan yoke; but in 1843 their own internal divisions weakened them so much as to incapacitate them from contending longer against the continually increasing power of their enemies. After a courageous but useless resistance, some Nestorian tribes were destroyed by the Kurds: and in order to escape a general massacre, a great number of these Christians, following the example of their patriarch, Mar-Shimoun, took refuge either at Mósul, or in some of the villages of the neighbourhood, where they could at least be certain of safety in exchange for their independence. Previous to this event Botta had been charged with distributing among these unhappy Christians the direct assistance of the French government,—not the first relief afforded by that power to the victims of fanaticism in the east. The continuation of the researches at Khorsabad placed at their author's disposal new means of alleviating the misery of these Christian refugees; whilst he turned their work to account, and found among them a whole population of workmen at once robust and docile. Their assistance was the more useful, as it was almost impossible to procure the requisite number of workmen among the inhabitants of the environs. Being employed in their habitual occupations they could not come and work at the diggings, or if they had consented to do so they would have made their employer pay too dearly for their services; besides their demand for high wages, the natives had certain singular superstitions which inspired them with repugnance for this kind of work, and this influence was trebly powerful when it was proposed to interfere with the village of Khorsabad itself. They said that they were afraid it would bring misfortune upon themselves and their families. As regards the Nestorians, although they suffer a great deal from the climate of the plain, so different from that of the high mountains they had inhabited until then, they worked with great spirit, and many of them were enabled to return to their own country, carrying with them savings which made them much richer than they had ever been before.

All obstacles having been removed about the middle of the month of May, 1844, Botta once more proceeded with his researches, so long

interrupted by the circumstances just related ; nor did he pause in his labours before the end of the month of October in the same year. As Monsieur Flandin was first obliged to copy the bas-reliefs discovered before his arrival, the works progressed, in the beginning, but slowly, but the scientific labourers were able gradually to increase their scale of operations, until at last they had almost three hundred workmen in full employment. During these six months, all had but one thought—which was, to join all efforts to turn Botta's discovery to the best possible account. Accordingly, they worked together with the most cordial understanding. Monsieur Flandin used to copy, with the greatest care, the bas-reliefs as fast as they were uncovered ; to measure the building and draw up a definite plan of it ; while Botta, on his side, was occupied not less actively, in transcribing the numerous inscriptions which covered a part of the walls. It is true that both had to suffer much, but they were amply recompensed for it by the results and the nature of the work ; for the reader will easily believe that it was not without a feeling of delight that they were able, from hour to hour, to go and observe what the pickaxe of the workmen had uncovered, and to endeavour to guess the direction of the walls which were still buried, to realize the scenes they would offer to view, and even to divine the signification of the bas-reliefs as they were successively brought to light.

But a detailed account of the difficulties as well as pleasures of these searchers into the secrets of a buried city would interest the reader but little, even had we space for it ; we abstain, therefore, from giving a minute description of the progress made, day by day, in the works, of which we wish to show the ultimate result. Botta, however, finds space to acknowledge the zeal with which Flandin joined him in completing the exhumation of the monument he had discovered. Being less accustomed than the consul himself to the miseries of eastern life, he felt more keenly the inconveniences of a prolonged stay in a miserable village, beneath a burning sky ; and his health suffered more than once in consequence. But his courage never failed him, not even at a most serious conjuncture, when the Consulate of Mósul and the existence of the whole Christian population were for a moment endangered.¹ His share in the undertaking was not limited to the execution of the artistic portions with which he was more especially charged. Botta's occupa-

¹ In the month of July, 1844, the Dominican Missionaries settled at Mósul, having had a house repaired in order to add it to their original monastery, were, as Botta had formerly been himself, accused of wishing to erect a fortress. The weakness of the new Pasha, who had just succeeded Mehmed Pasha, having encouraged the populace, this ridiculous accusation occasioned a serious riot, during which the monastery was destroyed, the church pillaged, and one of the missionaries assassinated. This circumstance, as he could easily foresee, produced similar feelings in the inhabitants of Khorsabad ; and it was only the firmness of Monsieur Flandin which could keep them in check, until such time as the assistance, which he had hastened to send him, arrived.

tions not allowing him to remain constantly at Khorsabad, he relied upon Flandin to superintend and employ the work-people ; and the artist, thus left in charge, discovered certain objects which would otherwise, perhaps, have escaped notice,—such for instance, as the little statues in terracotta, hidden under the pavement, and the funeral urns. Thus these two Frenchmen worked in concert with each other, and, if there is any merit in the operations which led to the complete exhumation of the monument of Khorsabad, Monsieur Flandin can with justice lay claim to a part of it.

At the period when Botta was obliged by Mehmed Pasha to suspend the works, he had only to follow into the interior of the mound the walls already laid bare. The work then completed naturally pointed out the direction their further labours should be made to take. They pursued this indication until all traces disappeared. The monument, however, had formerly extended further, and for some time they still followed the brick walls, but the coverings of sculptured slabs no longer existed ; and various signs clearly proved that, even in the most ancient times, a part of the monument had been intentionally destroyed, and the solid materials carried off to be employed somewhere else for other purposes. In the hopes, however, of still meeting with the lost trace, trenches were opened at various points of the mound ; but it was in vain, and they were at last obliged to renounce the hope of seeing a new store of riches added to those they had already found. At the end of the month of October, 1844, Botta considered that the exhumation of all that remained of the palace of Khorsabad was complete, and therefore put a stop to the works.

By this time Monsieur Flandin had finished his drawings, or at least those which it was indispensably necessary to finish on the spot, and he was enabled to quit Mésul on the 9th of November, and to proceed to Paris to submit his work to the Academy there, and to the admiration of the public at large. Arrived there, a commission was named by the Academy to draw up a report upon Monsieur Flandin's drawings. Through the medium of its reporter, Monsieur Raoul Rochette, the commission rendered a tribute of deserved praise to the labours of the artist, and suggested the propriety of issuing, in a special publication Flandin's drawings, as well as the explanatory matter Botta might bring with him, for the study of scholars and artists. In a meeting of the 16th of May, 1845, the Academy adopted the conclusions of the commission, ordered the report to be printed, and thus gave both Botta and his artistic coadjutor the first reward of their labours by publishing the results of them in a series of magnificent folio volumes, with the public approval, and at the public expense.

Flandin, as we have seen, had been enabled, in the beginning of the month of November, 1844, to leave Khorsabad and return to France, in

order to enjoy that repose of which he stood so much in need, after six months of suffering and fatigue. But Botta's own task was not so soon ended. In the first place he had to complete his copies of the inscriptions—a work that had been commenced a year before Monsieur Flandin's arrival at Mósul; was continued during the whole period of his stay, and which occupied several months more after his departure. Besides this, in conformity with the orders of the government, Botta and Flandin had chosen together the most remarkable and best-preserved pieces of sculpture to send to France; and after Flandin's departure Botta was left alone to prepare and pack these precious relics, to get them conveyed to Mósul, and thence to send them to Baghdad. All the difficulties which had stood in the way of this had been overcome. The Porte had at first imposed certain restrictions on the removal of the sculptures, but had ended by yielding to the persevering efforts of the French Ambassador, Baron de Bourqueney, who had shown the most unceasing and lively interest in the exhumation of Nineveh. He obtained the necessary orders, and Botta was at liberty to remove all objects deemed most worthy of removal to France.

Now a new species of difficulties arose. Neither the needful machinery nor workmen accustomed to the kind of operations were to be had. The object was, to convey, for a distance of four leagues, a number of blocks, some of which weighed as much as ten or twelve thousand kilogrammes. Botta had to invent everything, to teach everything—and, above all, not to despair of success after many fruitless attempts. Much against his will, he was obliged to saw up into a number of pieces several blocks, the weight and size of which would have rendered the carriage, if not impossible, at least too dear. As regards the packing, as it was impossible to procure cases sufficiently strong, he was obliged to adopt the most simple plan, and contented himself with covering the sculptured surfaces of the bas-reliefs with beams, which were fastened by screws to corresponding pieces of wood placed upon the opposite side of the stone. These means of protection fortunately proved to be sufficient.

The most difficult part of the whole affair was the conveyance of the blocks. Great trouble had to be taken to get a car built of sufficient strength, and Botta was even under the necessity of erecting a forge in order to construct axle-trees strong enough to support so heavy a load. The reader may fancy the kind of workmen available for the task by one fact—these axle-trees took six weeks to make!

Patient perseverance secured at last the necessary car, but then an almost equal amount of trouble had to be taken for finding the means of dragging it. The Pasha of Mósul had at first lent some buffaloes used to work of this description, but, from some inexplicable whim or

other, he took them back again. Botta then endeavoured, but in vain, to employ oxen, and at last was forced to have recourse to the thews and sinews of the Nestorians themselves. In addition to all this, the road from Khorsabad to Mósul being soaked through with continual rain, had no firmness, so that the wheels of the car, although they were made very broad, sank into the mud up to their axles. In several places it was necessary to pave the road, or to cover it over with planks. Two hundred men were scarcely sufficient to draw along some of the blocks. "The difficulties were indeed so great, that more than once," says Botta, "I feared I should not be able to transport, that year, the most interesting blocks, because they happened to be also the heaviest. I had no time to lose; although a great amount of rain obstructed my operations at Mósul, by a most unfortunate contrast very little snow had fallen in the mountains during the winter of 1844-45, so that not only was the Tigris far from attaining its usual height, but it began to decrease much before the accustomed time. It was necessary, however, to avail myself of its rise in order to send to Baghdad the objects which I had determined to transport to France, for the carriage of the sculptures required rafts of unusual dimensions, and a delay of a few days might oblige me to wait until the next year. By dint of great exertions, I succeeded in surmounting the obstacles and terminating these wearisome operations before the Tigris had finished falling. In the month of June, 1845, eight months after my researches were ended, all the sculptures had been removed to the side of the river, and, by means of an inclined plane formed in the bank, embarked on the rafts. This last part of my task was, unfortunately, attended by a sad accident. The men were employed in embarking the last block, and had already placed it upon the inclined plane: in order to move it, one of the Nestorians, in spite of my reiterated warnings, persisted in pulling it from the front; it was impossible to stop the course of the ponderous mass already in motion, and the miserable workman was crushed between it and the blocks previously on the raft. This was the only accident I had to regret during the whole duration of the works."

The Tigris is navigated by means of rafts constructed of pieces of wood, which are supported by inflated skins; the largest can carry great weights. These rafts (which are called by the natives *kalek*) are well adapted for descending the stream, which in summer is very shallow; but they are of no use for going up. When the rafts have arrived at Baghdad, they are broken up, the wood sold, and often at a profit, and the skins brought back to Mósul to serve again for the same purpose. Such were the means that Botta successfully employed for transporting the sculptures down the river towards the sea—the rafts of the required solidity being secured by the use of timber of a large size cut in the

mountains, and a number of skins proportioned to the dimensions of the raft.

Not content with giving to his countryman Flandin all the credit due for the assistance he rendered on the works of Khorsabad, we find in Botta's book a paragraph of grateful praise awarded to a more humble, yet scarcely less valuable assistant whom he found on the scene of operations. "As my principal object," says the *savant*, "in writing my introductory chapter, was to do justice to those who assisted me in my labours, the reader will, I hope, pardon me for naming the chief of the workmen, Naaman ebn Naouch, who, from the commencement of my researches in the mound of Kuyunjik up to the termination of the works, never failed to give me convincing proofs of two qualities which are very rare in his country—namely, intelligence and probity. It was he whom I charged to go and explore Khorsabad, and it was he who discovered its hidden treasures. Since that time his activity and his spirit of invention were of the greatest assistance to me when in a difficult position; and it is certainly to him that I owe the fact of my having been able to surmount the difficulties I met with during the removal of the sculptures."

At the end of the month of May, all the sculptures obtained from the mound at Khorsabad had been successfully landed at Baghdad, and confided to the care and intelligence of the French Consul-General there, who was charged to forward them to their ultimate destination. For a year he had them, so to speak, under his protection; for the wants of the service did not allow a ship of war being sent earlier, and the few merchantmen visiting the Persian Gulf could not have taken charge of such a cargo. It was only in the month of March, 1846, that the wished-for vessel, the *Cormorant*, could reach Bassora. The consul then experienced as much difficulty in shipping these ponderous masses on board the barks of those parts as had before been felt in sending them as far as Baghdad; but he eventually succeeded, and had them carried down the Tigris to the place where the vessel awaited them. In the beginning of June, Lieutenant Cabaret shipped them without accident, and setting sail for Bassora, arrived in December, 1846, after a favourable passage, at Havre; where, at the close of the year were landed the first collection of Assyrian antiquities that had ever been brought to Europe. They now form one of the attractions of the noble museum in the Louvre.

CHAPTER V.

BANKS OF THE TIGRIS, AND SITES OF THE ASSYRIAN PALACES.

WE have introduced Layard; have gone over what records, scriptural and classical, are left to us of the early history of Nineveh; have glanced at the labours of Rich, and described those of Botta. It may now be well to trace more exactly the topographical features of the locality where the modern searches have been made for the discovery of the buried Assyrian city.

Flowing down the sides of the mountains in which it takes its rise, the Tigris still for a while meanders at their base, and then being enlarged by the tributary waters of the Peechabeur, it washes the western extremity of the mountain of Gakô. From this point it stretches away from the hills in which it had its birth, leaving between them and itself a plain which gradually widens, until, opposite Mósul, it shews a broad expanse.

This plain is far from being flat, and presenting the alluvial character offered by Mesopotamia in the lower part of the course of the Euphrates and the Tigris; it is, on the contrary, extremely undulating, and deeply furrowed by the water-courses which, running down from the mountains and following the general inclination of the ground, flow towards the river. The principal of these streams is the Khauser, which rises to the north of Mósul in the mountains, and empties itself into the Tigris after having traversed the boundaries of the ancient walls of Nineveh itself.

It is in this plain, bounded on the west by the Tigris, and on the east by the mountains, that the mound of Khorsabad is placed. It is situate near the eastern bank of the Khauser. The mound of Khorsabad, like those of Nimroud, is perfectly visible through a telescope from the loftiest houses in Mósul. Lying some distance on one side of the principal route which leads from Mósul to Diarbekir, it is not surprising that the village of Khorsabad, from its situation and slight importance, had received but little notice from European investigators. Chance seems to have conducted Mr. Rich there, during a journey which he made from Mósul to the convent of Rabban-Ormuzd; and after visiting the ruined convent of Mar-Mattheh, he regained the plain by traversing the first chain of hills which separate the waters of the Gomel from those of the Khauser.

Following the base of the hills, he says that he saw several mounds situate near each other, and particularly one of considerable size with a flat top. There is little doubt but this was the mound of Khorsabad, for the village called by Mr. Rich, Iman-Fadla, is certainly the village of Fadlieh, situated at the foot of the mountain at half a league from Khorsabad; the position of the place, the mention made of gardens in this locality, and still more, a comparison of the names, can leave little doubt upon the matter.

Niebuhr, also, followed the route of the Desert to the west of the Tigris, on his way from Mósul to Mardin; he, consequently, did not pass near Khorsabad; but the name of this village did not escape his researches, which were always so precise and exact: he has given a list of the villages situated to the north of Mósul and to the east of the river; in it is found the name of *Khastabad*, which is one of the variants still in use for *Khorsabad*. This latter name, in fact, not being Arabic, and suggesting no meaning to the inhabitants, is written and pronounced by them very variously.¹ According to them, the word means *dwelling of the sick*, a term which perfectly agrees with the insalubrity of the neighbourhood.

Two roads lead from Mósul to Khorsabad, passing rather to the north or the south of the mount of Kouyunjik. In following the northern route, it is necessary to traverse the Khauser near its mouth, and then to recross it a little distance from Khorsabad. This passage,

¹ Botta says it ought to be spelt and pronounced “Khouroustâbâz, with a *dhamma* on the *kha* and the *ra*, a *sekoun* on the *sin*, and the two points on the *ta*.” Yacouti, in his *Turkish Geographical Dictionary*, says, “This is a village to the east of the Tigris, forming a portion of the district of Ninoua. Water is plentiful there, and there are numerous gardens watered with the surplus of the waters of the Ras-el-Na’our, which are called Jarâ’at. In this neighbourhood there is a ruined ancient city called Sar’ûn.” With regard to this city of Sar’ûn, Yacouti speaks of it in the same dictionary as follows: “Sar’oûn, with a *fatha* on the *sad* and a *sekoun* on the *ra*, was an ancient city in the district of Ninioua, and the best of the district of Mósul. It is ruined; ancient treasures are believed to exist there, and some individuals are said to have found sufficient to satisfy them. There is a story on the subject of this town mentioned in the ancient chronicles.” It was Rawlinson who pointed out this curious citation, which is all the more interesting because, while fixing the real orthography of the name of Khorsabad, it proves the falseness of an etymology already proposed, the historical consequences of which were of some importance. The name of *Khourousbad* might very well be decomposed into *Khourous* and *abad*, and thus signify the dwelling of Cyrus; but the presence of a *t* and a *z* in *Khouroustabaz* renders this derivation impossible. As to the existence of an ancient town named Sar’oûn on this spot, the present is not the fitting time to discuss the question.

which is not always easily effected during the floods, is avoided by keeping on the eastern bank of the Khauser, to the south of Kouyunjik; and this route was that which Botta generally took. After having passed the Tigris on a bridge of boats, or, when the rise of the water renders it necessary to remove this means of communication, in skiffs, the traveller enters the boundaries of old Nineveh by one of the cuttings made through the wall between the village of Ninious and the mound of Kouyunjik, and emerges from thence at the very point where the river, turning round the mound, cuts the eastern rampart to penetrate the enclosed space: in this spot it is that a few remains of masonry in the bed of the river would seem to indicate the existence of an ancient bridge or rather of some work destined to support the continuation of the wall, allowing at the same time a free passage for the water. From this point the road turns gradually to the north, parallel with the left bank of the Khauser, and then, after having traversed a deep ravine which ultimately joins the river, it separates from the road to Bachika, at the foot of the eminence on which the ruined village of Hachemich is situated.

At this part of the road are remarked, at the base of the elevations by which it is bounded on the east, those masses of concretions which Mr. Rich looks upon as the remains of ancient masonry. On the way from Mósul to Zakho masses of conglomerations precisely similar are found in the ravines which cut the plain transversely as they descend from the mountains; and there is no reason for believing that the origin of those which border the valley of the Khauser is different.

From the village of Hachemich up to Khorsabad, the road presents nothing remarkable; it gradually nears the chain of the mountains, by traversing a vast undulated plain. The soil of this plain is capable of cultivation, but not a single tree breaks the monotony of it; and as soon as the sun, whose power is in this country felt at a very early period of the year, has dried up the vegetation, nothing can be more mournful to behold or more wearisome to traverse, than this long succession of fields lying fallow or despoiled of their crops.

The road after having traversed the bed of a torrent, rises gradually by a gentle undulation. On arriving at the culminating point, the traveller, for the first time, perceives Khorsabad, situated in a plain comparatively very low, the verdure of which, in summer, forms an agreeable contrast with the general aridity of the country; he then descends into the plain, and soon penetrates into the ancient fortified enclosure by passing through an opening from which a little stream gushes forth; and lastly, he traverses the marshy land which occupies a large portion of the space contained within the old wall,

and reaches the village, which before Botta's researches was built upon the very summit of the mound.

Travelling thus from Mósul to Khorsabad, it is remarkable that no trace of the wall which, according to historians, ran round Nineveh, is any where visible. From the point at which the traveller emerges from the great enclosure which surrounds Kouyunjik and the mound of Niniona, to the village where the French uncovered an important monument, nothing is seen which could indicate the existence of any ancient buildings; the undulations of the plain are evidently natural, and caused by movements of the soil on far too grand a scale to be attributed to the hand of man; nowhere do we see those tumuli, which, in the East, are certain signs of buildings buried beneath, and a series of which would mark out on the ground a line of walls. Neither on the other route which leads from Mósul to Khorsabad, by passing to the north of Kouyunjik, and, from thence, stretching out towards the village, and a considerable distance to the west of the other road, can any trace of the ancient wall be met with.

"It is," says Botta, "a well-known fact, that walls of unbaked bricks, such as those which must have surrounded Nineveh, leave behind them traces which, in some degree, are indelible: we have a proof of this at Mósul itself, where those which formed the enclosure of Nineveh are still perfectly distinct, and could not be mistaken by any one. Since, then, no similar vestiges are found further on, must we conclude that the enclosure in question was that of the city itself, and that the palace of Khorsabad was placed at a great distance beyond it?" How far subsequent discoveries confirm this opinion we will not now stay to inquire; but one word may be said *ad interim*. Khorsabad, if a chief palace of the lords of Nineveh, will doubtless be within the boundaries of that great city in days when, to be isolated, was to be in danger. St. James's Palace cannot be said to be within the walls of the city its owner rules over, but who will say that that palace is not in London?

It will greatly facilitate the subjoined description if the reader will at once fancy himself transported, across the desert or up the Tigris, as he may please, to the city of Mósul. He is invited thither, not to gaze on its old walls, which withstood the fierce Saladin's hosts; or its streets, which Genghis Khan once deluged with blood, nor to watch the many caravans which enter and emerge by its eight gates; nor to mark the manners of its large and motley population. Mósul is the *point de depart* of Assyrian research; we will therefore at once cross the Tigris, here four hundred feet wide, by the rickety bridge of boats, and thus gain the eastern side of the river.

Arrived here, the first objects that strike us are two shapeless

mounds, standing due north and south of each other, on a level tract, and separated by the Khauser, a mere rivulet. They are the mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus. The former, also locally styled the Kuala, or Castle of Ninawe, rises steep from the plain to the height of forty-three feet, and has a level summit, on which here and there an Arab cottage may be seen. This is one of the largest of the Assyrian mounds, having an extent of 7800 feet circumference. When first seen it appears to be a natural eminence; but on nearer examination traces of building are observable, and the whole surface is strewn with fragments of pottery, covered with beautiful wedge-shaped writing bricks, pieces of pavement, and here and there a remnant of a bas-relief. The southern mound, Nebbi Yunus, or the Tomb of Jonah, is about fifty feet in height, and extends four hundred and thirty feet from east to west, by three hundred and fifty-five feet from north to south. Here stands a building once a Christian church, dedicated to the divine messenger sent to Nineveh, now a Mohammedan mosque, but still revered as the tomb of the prophet. These two eminences are connected on the side nearest the Tigris by a rampart and fosse, which run beyond them, turn to the east, and circumscribe an area having the form of an oblong square. The rampart consists of sun-dried brick and earth. It varies in height from ten to twenty feet, has here and there been broken through, but continuous traces remain, the whole bearing a striking resemblance to the Roman entrenchments still extant in our own country.

We will now leave Kouyunjik, and proceeding about thirteen miles due north, shall arrive at the mound of Khorsabad, distinguished as that in which the first Assyrian relic was discovered. The great level plain of the Tigris has here a breadth of about ten miles.

The low ground in the middle of which Khorsabad is situated is open completely to the west only; since to the south it is bounded by the elevation of the plain, which it is necessary to traverse to reach it; to the east arise the calcareous mountains, separating the basin of the Tigris from the valley of Gomel; and to the north stretches a chain of hills, through which the Khauser passes. Towards the west only can the eye wander without hindrance, over the plain watered by the Tigris, beyond which are seen the mountains where dwell the Yezidis—the Devil Worshipers—of whom Layard writes so amusingly and well.

The low position of the ground, and the great quantity of streams which unite there, afford the inhabitants of Khorsabad great facilities for watering their plantations—a circumstance which accounts for the freshness of this little canton in the midst of the general aridity.

They cultivate a few fields of cotton, vegetables, &c.; and in such countries, the smallest patches of verdure upon the scorched-up soil offer an agreeable resting-place for the eye. Unfortunately the lowness of the position, so advantageous for cultivation, is attended by the evils inseparable from it in a hot climate; for the superfluous waters not finding an easy means of exit, form marshes in the enclosure, and at different points round about the mound, thus rendering the air during the summer very unhealthy. This insalubrity is still more increased by the bad quality of the water for drinking. In spite of this inconvenience, we may suppose that this plentiful supply of water was one of the motives which induced the kings of Assyria to build at Khorsabad so considerable a palace.

The ruins are situate about one mile and a half from the foot of the nearest range of hills bounding the plain. The remains of a city wall may be distinctly traced, forming north a perfect square, the sides of which measure nearly an English mile each way, all the four angles being right angles. On this wall are found traces of eight great towers, very irregularly spaced, one so much as to have the appearance of a citadel. The wall has in places the immense thickness of forty-five feet, and is composed of two or three courses of massive masonry, to the height of three or four feet. Above that it consists of sun-dried bricks,—to what height cannot now be ascertained, but probably to about thirty-five or thirty-six feet. This wall was evidently more than the enclosure of a palace, and must have been made for defence. Its extent, again, suggests the employment of a large number of armed men, as a mere guard could not man a wall of more than four miles in length.

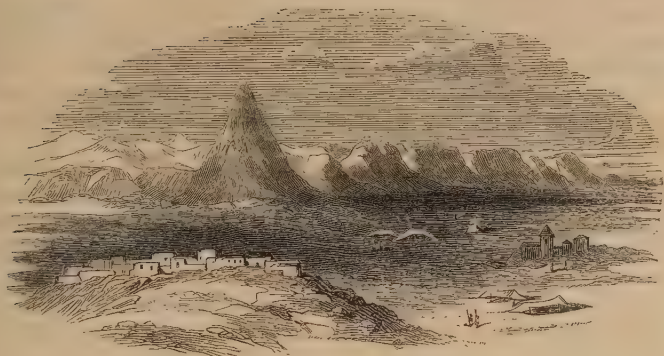
Returning from Khorsabad to our starting point, we now take a direction south-south-east from Mósul, to visit the great mound of Nimroud, about eight miles from Kouyunjik. Embarking on a raft, we soon reach the mound of Yarumjeh, on the left bank, which we cannot, however, stay to notice. The flood-current of the Tigris has made havoc with this mass, and cut it down to a precipice, exposing its artificial construction. Where the soil has been removed by the waters, remains of buildings are exhibited, such as layers of large stones, some with bitumen on them, with a few burnt bricks and tiles. Passing this point, the Tigris follows a winding course to the Zillr, or Dyke of Aaware, a dam of solid masonry which crosses the bed of the river, a narrow passage being left on the east bank. The stream, when full, rushes over this obstruction with great impetuosity, and its roar may be heard for several miles. The work is called Zillr-el-Aaware, from the noise made by the water breaking over it; it is also styled Sull-el-Nimrod, a local tradition ascribing its erec-

tion to the great chieftain. At a short distance below the dyke, and contiguous to the river, the lofty cone and broad mound of Nimroud break, like a distant mountain, on the sky. It occupies the north-west angle of an elongated platform, and is strewn with broken pottery and fragments of bricks, both abundantly inscribed with the cuneiform character. The sides are steep, and the top very small. The platform of this peculiar pyramid extends a thousand feet in length by five hundred in breadth. It is alluded to by Xenophon as, in his day, an ancient ruin; and the pyramid which he describes leaves no doubt as to its identity. It is familiar to Englishmen as the scene of their countryman Layard's greatest discoveries, and the mine whence the Assyrian treasures of the National Museum have been dug.

A fourth locality remarkable for its Assyrian mound is Karamles, about as far from Nimroud as Khorsabad is from Mósul. No extensive excavations have been as yet carried on in this mound; but a platform of brickwork has been uncovered there, and its Assyrian character completely established by the inscriptions discovered.

Mr. Layard has called attention to the fact, that a line drawn to connect these four mounds will define an elongated square, corresponding in measurment to the description of the ancient historians.

A little more than forty miles in a direct line to the southward of Nimroud, but this time on the right bank of the Tigris, there exists another mound, covering the ruins of Assyrian palaces. The place is now called Kalah Sherghat, and probably marks the southern limits of the early Assyrian monarchy. The mound is but partially artificial, as it rests on a chain of low hills, which here run down close to the bank of the river. Layard explored this to a considerable extent, but with little success as far as architectural remains are concerned. He, however, disinterred a sitting statue, a rarity of Assyrian art, and ascertained that the mound contains ruins of the earliest period—that is to say, of the Nimroud dynasty. Other mounds situate within the limits of the Eastern kingdom are no doubt graves of buried cities; and judging from the success which has attended excavations made up to this time, we may, without incurring the censure of being too sanguine, expect that they too will yield a rich harvest when they find explorers like Layard. Till then we will leave them to sleep in their earthen shrouds.



THE MOUND AT NIMROUD.

CHAPTER VI.

LAYARD AT NINEVEH.

LET us now rejoin Layard at Nineveh, and see how he wrought at the ruins of Nimroud, a palace infinitely larger than the one of Khorsabad, which had occupied the time of M. Botta.

The sun had set a full hour on November 8, 1845, when the raft which bore Layard and his assistants neared the dam which crosses the Tigris, opposite Nimroud. To disembark its freight was a work of small difficulty; a few mason's tools secreted in a valise, and a few guns, wild boar spears, and other hunting weapons, (which, having been ostentatiously displayed during the voyage had now fulfilled their uses,) were nearly all that encumbered the journey. The little party walked to the village of Naifa. Not a creature was to be seen, no light appeared, no sound was heard; even the inevitable dogs of Arab villages, upon this occasion were silent. Our travellers had, indeed, entered a world of ruins. The raft appeared now their only resource, when suddenly the glare of a fire revealed a miserable and solitary hut. But it was an Arab hut, and the Europeans were welcomed. The host was the plundered Sheikh Awad, needy, active, and intelligent, with a world of local information, familiar with the ruins, and learned in all the traditions of the country. Layard saw that he was just the man for the occasion; so, seated on a corn-sack on the ground, he at once acquainted him with the object of his journey, held out the prospect of long and regular employment, if successful,

and offered him the post of foreman to the works, with a regular salary. The poor man brightened up with these expectations, and entered into the business with all his heart. He would have entertained his guest all night with stories of Abraham and Nimrod, and the pristine kings of the land, but at Layard's especial request, set out, then and there, to a neighbouring village, to procure workmen to assist in the excavations to begin at sun-rise.

And now Layard turned on his sack to sleep. But what sleep was there for his excited brain? It was not the wretched hovel with its gaping crevices, bare earthen floor, and naked walls, nor the mangy greyhounds, or haggard Arabs who crowded the apartment, that hindered his slumbers. The impatient imagination hurriedly paced through long drawn underground passages, explored chambers, visited palaces, admired sculptures, and exercised itself on inscriptions without end. Again he stood on the mound of Nimroud; the Arab vanished, the green grass was gone, all was animation and motion.

“The days of old return;—I breathe the air
Of the young world;—I see her giant sons
Like to a gorgeous pageant in the sky
Of summer's evening, cloud on fiery cloud
Thronging upheaped,—before me rise the walls
Of the Titanic city—brazen gates—
Towers—temples—palaces enormous piled—
Imperial NINEVEH, the earthly queen!
In all her golden pomp I see her now.”

Startled into consciousness by a loud voice, Layard found himself still on the sack, with Awad at his side, telling him that the sun was up, and six Arabs were outside the hovel, ready to work under his directions.

For the third time Layard now beheld the lofty cone and broad mound of Nimroud, as it broke like a distant mountain on the morning sky. A twenty minutes' walk brought him to its principal mound, strewn with fragments of brick and earthenware, inscribed with the wedge-shaped characters of ancient Assyria. The Arab assistant gazed with unintelligent wonder at the movements of the stranger, but soon learned to select and gather the objects of his search. In the forenoon of the first day, our explorers discovered the entrance of a chamber, of which ten uncovered slabs formed the top, and a bas-relief; and by nightfall a wall covered with numberless inscriptions had been laid bare. This was an encouraging day's work; it had demonstrated the existence of large buildings and sculptures in the mound. Layard now thought he might venture to set up an independent household at

Naifa, so he chose the best hovel in the deserted village, propped up its falling roof, patched its crevices with mud, and removed into it from Awad's hut. A Wiltshire farm labourer would not probably be willing to change his dwelling for that of which Layard took possession on the night of that memorable ninth of November, but it secured the privacy of its occupant, and shut out the cold night winds.

When Layard set out for Nimroud next morning, his working corps numbered eleven men, having been reinforced by Turcomans who had been allured by the prospect of regular pay. The results of this day's work were no less satisfactory to the explorer than those of the preceding. The poor sheikh fancied he had this day divined the secret of his employer's researches. That any one could be attracted to that desert spot by a few stones was above his comprehension; but a few morsels of gold leaf found in one of the chambers explained the mystery. Calling Layard aside, he confessed, with feelings compounded of admiration and benevolent pity, that the children of this world were wiser than the children of light. "Wallah!" said he, "the Frank knows that which is hid from the true believer. Here is the gold, sure enough," handing a few fragments of gold leaf wrapped in dirty paper, "and please God, we shall find it all in a few days. Only do not say anything about it to the Arabs, for, asses as they are, they cannot hold their tongues." The gold was returned to the surprised Arab, who expressed in pious exclamations his wonder at these strange proceedings, now more unaccountable than ever.

Five days were thus passed, each awakening new hopes in the mind of our explorer; but here it was necessary to pause, survey the field, and either abandon further search, or proceed on some firmer basis. The excavations at Nimroud had been commenced not only without the permission but without the knowledge of the local authorities. Mohammed Pasha, governor of Mósul, in whose province Layard was working, was a terror even to the most obedient of his subjects; his rapacity was unbounded, and it was possible that the suspicion of buried treasures at Nimroud, might haunt his mind as it had done that of Awad the sheikh. The superstition of the people, who believed the mound to be graves of ancient idols, which it was their duty as good Mahommedans to break as soon as discovered, threatened to increase the difficulties of the enterprise. The supplies of money which were to sustain the undertaking were only guaranteed for a limited period. Their continuance was contingent upon a fair prospect of success, and at present no sculptures had been discovered.

These considerations were well weighed by Layard, but they did not slacken the ardour of his application. As a first step he repaired

to Mósul to inform the Pasha by his own lips of the doings at Nimroud, and, if possible, obtain his formal sanction. The wily ruler affected ignorance of the excavations, but in reality had had a spy on those works, who had watched them day by day, and sent to Mósul with his reports, portions of the gold leaf found in the Assyrian chamber. He forebore either to sanction or object to the continuance of the researches, and Layard left him with the conviction that the old man would seize a convenient opportunity for obstructing his proceedings.

After a short sojourn in Mósul, Layard returned to Nimroud, having hired a number of Nestorian Chaldeans to proceed thither, and join his corps, and directed the opening of a number of mounds in the neighbourhood by one or two selected agents. The gang of workers now numbered thirty men, by whose aid Layard next sought to examine the south-west ruins, and, if possible, discover their plan. This was a work of great labour; for the soil, mixed with sun-dried and kiln-burnt bricks, pottery, and fragments of alabaster, offered great resistance to the tools of the workmen, and had to be carried right out of the mound. The Arabs could not be trusted with the pick-axe, for using which they were not sufficiently robust, and this labour was exclusively performed by the newly engaged Chaldeans. No spade could be thrust into the heterogeneous rubbish, which the Arabs were, therefore, compelled to collect as they could into baskets for removal. By so wearisome a process, were the remains of Assyrian art at length brought into the light of day.

During the three weeks in which he had pursued his researches in Nimroud, Layard had encountered the most imminent peril from the predatory tribes which then roamed the district. He had the satisfaction of seeing wounded prisoners, who had crossed the Zab to plunder him at the Mound, brought in now and then by the gendarmerie of the desert; but the danger was so great that he was compelled to shift his quarters from Naifa to the large village of Selamiyah, where, joined by his workman, he was three miles from Nimroud. At this village he was fain to spread his carpet in the low mud hut of the petty officer of the place. Here he passed the night under a table, a valuable piece of furniture in a dwelling, where the roof, formed of boughs and reeds, is not adapted to keep out the torrents of winter rain! A trench conducted round the site of the table to carry off accumulating waters made our hero's dormitory one of comparative luxury.

Layard was working in the rain with his men on the afternoon of the 29th, when a stroke of a pick-axe suddenly disclosed the first of the long-wished-for bas-reliefs. Excited with the discovery, he

returned to his domicile, and was meditating on his success, as an officer from the Pasha arrived. The excavations at Nimroud were to be discontinued. Losing no time, Layard proceeded straight to his Excellency, who assured him that he had given no such orders, was surprised that any one had dared to pretend his authority, and promised to send an order to Nimroud, commanding assistance, rather than interruption, to the explorers. Layard returned to Mósul, having formed a very decided opinion of the Pasha's good faith, and, in the middle of the night, learned from the local officer that a second despatch had just arrived from Mósul, interdicting, in still stronger terms, the resumption of the Nimroud excavations. Irritated, but still determined and politic, Layard returned next morning to Mósul, again saw the Pasha, and this time learned from his own lips that he was not to proceed with his work. His Excellency had learned, with deep regret, that the place of the excavations had been used as a burying place by the true believers. To disturb their tombs was contrary to law. The Kurds and Arabs (beasts as they were!) were already complaining. Layard was his Excellency's dearest and most intimate friend: if anything happened to him, what grief would he not suffer; his life was more valuable than old stones. No, he could not be allowed to proceed.

Finding that the old man was not to be turned from his resolution, to which he had been led by the Cadi and some European residents at Mósul, from whom better things might have been expected, Layard feigned acquiescence in his answer, and merely requested that an officer might be sent with him to Nimroud, under whose inspection he might copy a few inscriptions, and draw the sculptures already uncovered. This officer, or Cawass, proved a most convenient personage. His presence relieved Layard from the interference of the local authorities, while his own compliant temper induced him readily to countenance the employment of a few workmen, who, while ostensibly guarding the sculptures, carried on a portion of the works as before. Layard contented himself with opening a few trenches by way of experiment, and uncovering a few sculptures for the sake of satisfying himself of their existence, and prepared to suspend his labours until a superior order could be obtained from Constantinople to protect him from further petty interruption. While thus engaged, he learned that the "tombs" which Mohammed Pasha had made the pretext for interference had been dug by his orders, and for this especial occasion. The wily Turk had prepared the graves, that his people might find them, and quote their presence as a reason for stopping Layard. On the 18th of December, having covered up the sculpture, our discoverer took his departure from Nimroud.

After paying a hasty visit to Mósul, and satisfying himself that the researches could not be immediately resumed, Layard visited Baghdad, to see what arrangements could be made for the future removal of the sculptures to England, an end of which he never once despaired, and also to obtain the opinion, on various subjects, of Major Rawlinson, celebrated as the discoverer of the mode of reading the arrow-headed inscriptions. He reached Baghdad on Christmas Eve, 1845, remained there a few days, and then returned to Mósul, where he found Ismail Pasha, a liberal and courteous governor, occupying the pashalic of the now disgraced Mohammed. Layard was received by the Pasha with affability, no opposition was offered to the continuation of researches at Nimroud, and the commander of the troops of Selamiyah received orders to protect workmen there engaged.

On the 20th of January, 1846, Layard returned to Nimroud with a party of Nestorian Chaldeans, whom he had taken into employment. The returning security of life and property, which had brought the ploughman and the sower back to the fields, and even to the mound itself, enabled him to take up his quarters at the village of Nimroud, and thus reside at the scene of labour. On revisiting the works, he found that the stones had been removed from the pseudo-graves, and good care had been taken that some, which had better claims to be respected, should not in future give occasion to obstruction.

Layard had scarcely recommenced operations at Nimroud, when he heard that his old adversaries at Mósul had been agitating the population with lying stories against him. It was now pretended not only that he was digging and carrying away treasure, but that the inscriptions for which he was searching were wanted in order to prove that the Franks were the original owners of the country of which they were intriguing to regain possession. Layard was summoned to Mósul, and had an interview with Ismail Pasha. The governor protested that he regarded not the tales of the leading agitators, but he was young in office; and although he should shortly deal with them in his own way, he would ask Layard, as a personal favour, to suspend the excavations for the present. Disappointed and full of regret, our explorer returned to Nimroud, to contemplate idly the extraordinary building the nature of which he had believed himself on the eve of discovering.

The remainder of January and the first half of February were spent by Layard in forming plans, visiting and conciliating the neighbouring Arab sheikhs, and listening to their traditions. About the middle of the latter month, judging that he had sufficiently satisfied the Pasha's wishes, he renewed his experiments at the ruins,

proceeding at first with great caution, employing but few men, and confining himself to the exploration of such parts of the mound as appeared to contain buildings. A trench was opened, and some new chambers were added to the already discovered building. Hitherto, however, inscriptions which had not been read, and bas-reliefs too far decayed to be removed, were all that had been discovered. A ravine, apparently formed by the winter rains, which ran far into the mound, attracted Layard's attention, and he formed the fortunate resolution of opening a trench in its centre. In two days this measure was rewarded by the discovery of the beautiful winged human figures—one with fir cone and basket, the other with the gazelle and flowers; and, besides these, the remarkable eagle-headed figure which has since been known as *Nisroch*.

But a richer reward was in store. On the morning succeeding these discoveries, Layard was returning from a visit to a sheikh, when he met two Arabs urging their mares to the top of their speed. On approaching him they stopped; "Hasten, O Bey," exclaimed one of them, "for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true! we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God;" and with this pious exclamation they galloped off to tell the news to their own people. On reaching the excavations, Layard found that all the labourers had suspended their exertions, and were gathered round an object covered with a hastily constructed screen. It was a gigantic human head, sculptured in full out of the native alabaster of the country, and was at once assigned by Layard to a winged bull or lion, the remainder of which was still buried in the earth. The effect which the sight of this colossal figure had produced on the Arabs, Layard beheld with regret. One man had thrown down his tools, and scampered off to Mósul as fast as legs could carry him, upon the first glimpse of the monster. The Arabs, who came thronging to the pit, regarded the figure with horror, and repeated their ejaculations as long as it remained in their sight. The Sheikh of the tribe had a very strong opinion on the matter. "This is not the work of men's hands," he exclaimed, "but of those infidel giants of whom the Prophet—peace be with him!—has said that they were higher than the tallest date tree, this is one of the idols which Noah—peace be with him!—cursed before the flood." And so thought all the rest.

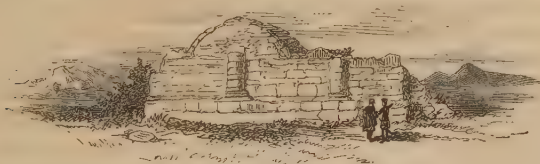
The fruits of this pious horror were soon apparent. The population of Mósul was in commotion. The fugitive from Nimroud had raised a feeling of consternation among the inhabitants, who believed his tale that Nimrod had appeared. Layard's old adversaries, the Cadi, the Mufti, and the Ulema, again met, and proceeded to Ismail

Pasha with a formal complaint, representing the proceedings at Nimroud as a profane violation of the precepts of the Koran. As all they knew of the facts had been derived from the terrified workman, their statement was not remarkable for distinctness, and as for the governor, he hardly knew whether Nimrod was a true believer, or an infidel dog. However Layard received a message, desiring that the excavations should be at once stopped, a communication which brought him again to Mósul, and subsequently caused the dismissal of the workmen at Nimroud.

For the third time had the rescarches been interrupted, and always at a critical moment, by the hostile prejudices of persons at Mósul. It was in vain to resume the work until the sensation had somewhat subsided. A vizirial order from Constantinople had been asked for, but when it would arrive was uncertain. It only remained to make the best use of the interval until the period when the trenches might again be opened with safety. The policy of the new governor had brought back to the neighbourhood of the ruins many of the Arab tribes who had fled from the exactions of his predecessor. Besides the general necessity of winning the goodwill of the Mussulman population, whose prejudices had more than once thwarted Layard's plans, it became exceedingly desirable to secure the friendship of the various sheikhs, whose amity would be a guarantee that the thievish propensities of their followers should not be exercised upon the stores and appliances of the exploring expedition. He had already assured himself of the protection and active assistance of Abd-urrahman, sheikh of a tribe renowned for habits of plunder, and during the month of March received and entertained the various chiefs of the Jebours, one of whom became a most useful acquaintance. A silk dress, an embroidered cloak, and a pair of capacious boots of coloured leather, formed a present which quite captivated these sons of the desert. The intimacy thus sought was not without its drawbacks. Layard's "house" was seldom without its sheikh with his dozen attendants, their horses tied at every door. The renown of his hospitality even brought parties of Kurds from their mountains, anxious to give the "Bey," as they called him, an opportunity of confirming his reputation, by the presentation of suitable gifts. Layard found it necessary to discourage the advances of these distant gentry, and learning that Sofulk chief of the great Shammar tribe, who would probably become his near neighbours in the summer, was encamped on the west bank of the Tigris, and within easy distance of Nimroud, he determined to organize an expedition to his tents. The caravan fitted out for this purpose moved across the meadows of the Tigris, now covered with luxuriant vegetation, and flowers of every hue.

Layard, and the most vigorous of the party, urged their horses in pursuit of the gazelle, or the wild boar skulking in the long grass. The exhilaration of field sports has often been extolled. Layard himself has described in exciting language the joy which thrilled through his veins during this ride, and ascribed it to the air of the desert in spring, and the feeling of freedom which arises from contemplating that boundless expanse which there stretched around him. Many who have followed his adventures will probably be of opinion that it was the long preparation of labour which on this occasion sweetened the air, and gave elasticity to his spirits.

On the third day, the main body of Sofak's tribe was reached. The plain seemed to swarm with moving objects. The tribe was moving to fresh pastures. As far as the eye could reach, to the right, to the left, and in front, still the same moving crowd, wide spreading flocks of sheep and camels, long lines of asses, and bullocks laden with black tents, huge cauldrons, and variagated carpets; aged women and men no longer able to walk, tied on the heap of domestic furniture; infants crammed into saddle-bags, their tiny heads thrust through the narrow opening, balanced on the animals back by kids or lambs tied on the opposite side; horsemen armed with their long spears scouring the plain, colts galloping fantastically amidst the throng. Such was the crowd through which our party had to move for several hours. The camp of the Shammar Sheikh was at length discovered, pitched on a broad lawn, in a deep ravine. The party were received with Arab courtesy. The usual meal—boiled fragments of mutton swimming in melted butter, was soon served, in wooden bowls and platters. The usual compliments and presents were interchanged, and friendship was established with the Shammar. Two days were spent in the encampment, with the exception of an excursion to the ruins of Al Hadhr, and the party set out to return. The Shammar guides



RUINS AT AL HADHR.

declined to enter Mósul with our friends, having a rather heavy account to settle with the merchants of the city, whom they had plundered in sundry forages. On their dismissal, Layard presented each with a dress of silk, and henceforth his safety in the land of

Shammar was certain. "Wallah!" exclaimed the men, "your camels shall be as the camels of the Shammar. Be they loaded with gold, they shall pass through our camp, and the people shall not touch them."

We have now to accompany Layard to Nimroud, whither he hastened on his return to Mósul. Little progress had been made during his absence, only two men having been left to clear away the rubbish from the sculptures. One of the large figures had tumbled over on its side, and leaned against its neighbour. A number of small ornaments had also been discovered; but, upon the whole, the site was much as it had been left on the departure a few weeks before. Layard now conceived the design of enlisting the sympathies of a number of the inhabitants at Mósul, and at the same time gratifying the Arab tribes encamping near the ruins by an entertainment. Many of the Christian families of Mósul were anxious to see the sculptures whose fame had been spread over the town and provinces. A large party was accordingly invited, and the day after their arrival, all the Arabs of the district, men and women, were bidden to the feast. The Pasha had lent white pavilions, which had been pitched near the river, on a broad lawn carpeted with flowers. In these, the ladies and the dark aristocracy were received; whilst the commons of the desert and their attendants were accommodated in black goat hair tents. The horses of the tribe were picketted with Layard's on all sides. First came old Abd-ur-rahman, sheikh of the Abou Salman Arabs, tricked out in all the finery he could collect, and mounted on a white mare. He wore, over the usual kerchief, a white turban edged with long fringes, a long robe of red silk hung from his shoulders, and a pair of bright yellow boots made him the envied of every Arab. A band of Kurdish minstrels hired for the occasion advanced to do honour to the old chief as he neared the scene of preparation. His horsemen, who had adorned their spears with tufts of ostrich feathers, hereupon grew frantic with joy, and urging their mares to the utmost of their speed, engaged in mimic war and filled the air with their cries. The sheikh by this time arrived at the tent, dismounted, and took his place in the post of honour appointed for guests of his rank. Two other tribes arrived on foot with similar demonstrations of joy, and were followed by the wives and daughters of the sheikhs, with their trains of handmaidens.

To feast this crowd, which increased as morning grew later, fourteen sheep were boiled. These, when ready, were placed on large wooden platters, which after the men had satisfied themselves, were passed on to the women, and thence to the attendants. At the conclusion of the banquet, the party adjourned to the large space which had been left vacant in the centre of the front of the tents for

dancing; those who did not choose to take an active share in the diversion seated themselves on the grass, and formed a large circle round the dancers. The solemn sheikhs surveyed the scene from their divans. The Arabs entered with the greatest enthusiasm into this amusement. Forming a circle and joining hands, they moved round at first slowly, making a shuffling motion with their feet, and twisting their bodies into various not ungraceful attitudes. As the music quickened their gestures became vehement, and the movement more lively; they stamped with their feet, yelled the cry of their tribe, and gave themselves up to the most extravagant excitement.

When these exertions had exhausted the first set of dancers, two warriors, armed with shields and naked scimitars, appeared in the circle to exhibit the sword dance. The effect of the music was so exciting on the performers, who were of different tribes, that the spectators grew apprehensive of fearful consequences, and at length interfered to disarm the combatants. Their swords were replaced by short staves, with which they belaboured each other, to the infinite delight of the crowd. The women entered fully into the spirit of these proceedings, and, on every successful hit, raised the peculiar shrill cry called *tahlel*, the effect of which on the Arab is described as most electric, exciting him beyond all control of his actions. The performances were kept up with variations the greater part of the night in the light of the moon. The next day the grave old Abd-ur-rahman would be satisfied with nothing less than leading off a dance with Layard, in which they were joined by some five hundred warriors and Arab women.

Three days thus passed earned for Layard all that consideration among the Arabs which he had promised himself. Henceforth they were devoted to the great and generous "Bey," and whenever he had occasion for their services, he felt the value of the feeling towards him which his kindness had produced.

Ismael Pasha had now been recalled from Mósul, and early in May a fine old Turkish gentleman entered the city as his successor. Tahyas Pasha enjoyed a good repute for benevolence and justice, and was moreover a man of considerable information on subjects connected with the literature and history of his country. He received Layard with every mark of attention, and at once permitted him to proceed with the excavations. A great source of difficulty was now dried up. But the removal of all fear of interruption on the part of the authorities, placed in a stronger light another inconvenience—the smallness of the means at Layard's command, forbade him to resume operations on the same extensive scale as in the February preceding. He returned, however, to Nimroud, and selected from the labourers those

who had distinguished themselves by energy and ability, and thus formed a small but effective working party.

Writing of this period, the middle of May, Layard says:—

“The heats of summer had now commenced, and it was no longer possible to live under a white tent. The huts were equally uninhabitable, and still swarmed with vermin. In this dilemma I ordered a recess to be cut into the bank of the river, where it rose perpendicularly from the water’s edge. By screening the front with reeds and boughs of trees, and covering the whole with similar materials, a small room was formed. I was much troubled, however, with scorpions and other reptiles, which issued from the earth forming the walls of my apartment; and later in the summer by gnats and sand-flies, which hovered, on a calm night, over the river. Similar rooms were made for my servants. They were the safest that could be invented, should the Arabs take to stealing after dark. My horses were picketted on the edge of the bank above, and the tents of my own workmen were pitched in a semicircle behind them. The change to summer had been as rapid as that which ushered in the spring. The verdure of the plain had perished almost in a day. Hot winds, coming from the desert, had burnt up and carried away the shrubs; flights of locusts, darkening the air, had destroyed the few patches of cultivation, and had completed the havoc commenced by the sun. The Abou-Salman Arabs, having struck their black tents, were now living in ozails, or sheds, constructed of reeds and grass along the banks of the river. The Shemutti and Jehesh had returned to their villages, and the plain presented the same naked and desolate aspect that it wore in the month of November. The heat, however, was now almost intolerable. Violent whirlwinds occasionally swept over the face of the country. They could be seen, as they advanced from the desert carrying along with them clouds of sand and dust. Almost utter darkness prevailed during their passage, which lasted generally about an hour, and nothing could resist their fury. On returning home one afternoon after a tempest of this kind, I found no traces of my dwellings; they had been completely carried away. Ponderous wooden frameworks had been borne over the bank, and hurled some hundred yards distant; the tents had disappeared, and my furniture was scattered over the plain. When on the mound, my only secure place of refuge was beneath the fallen lion, where I could defy the fury of the whirlwind; the Arabs ceased from their work and crouched in the trenches, almost suffocated and blinded by the dense cloud of fine dust and sand which nothing could exclude.”

With his reduced working corps, and in face of the hardships and privations just noticed, the excavations were carried on with great

activity. New sculptures and bas-reliefs of increasing value and interest, among them the winged human figure, with the fir-cone and the winged human-headed bull were brought to light. But the progress was slow; speculation outran the movements of the workmen, and Layard was glad to accept, now and then, an invitation to join the hunting excursions of the natives, and thus beguile the hours. In one of these intervals of leisure, he was sleeping in Sheikh Abd-urrahman's tent, intending to hunt gazelles with him before dawn the next morning, when he was awakened by an Arab, who placed in his hands several letters from Mósul, among which was one bearing the seal of the Porte. By the light of a camel's-dung fire, Layard read the despatch of the Grand Vizier of the Sultan, authorising him to continue his excavations, and remove any objects he might discover. This comprehensive order effectually removed one of the greatest difficulties of the undertaking; and, although pecuniary means were still wanting, Layard made arrangements for rendering the researches more extensive and effectual.

The great mound of Kouyunjik, with which most travellers had identified the site of Nineveh, had not yet been opened by Layard. Its vicinity to Mósul would have brought his movements there directly under the eye of the inhabitants, and exposed him to continual petty annoyances from the Cadi and Mufti. The Grand Vizirial order had now removed this objection, and he determined to open trenches on the southern face of the ruins, where the mound is highest. Here the source of the previous opposition soon betrayed itself. The national jealousy of Europeans had allied itself with Asiatic prejudice, to obstruct the progress of Layard's researches. The only opposition made to the commencement of excavations at Kouyunjik, proceeded from the French Consul, who claimed the ruins of Assyria as French property. This extraordinary claim was not recognised, and Layard continued the researches for about a month with small success. He soon returned to Nimroud, and increased his corps of workmen, by hiring about thirty Arabs.

A rich collection of sculptures in an excellent state of preservation soon rewarded this renewal of operations. Kings, priests, griffins, eunuchs, and the sacred tree, were among the discovered figures. As chamber after chamber was uncovered, the Arabs were struck with amazement, and expressed their feelings by extravagant gestures and exclamations of surprise. When a bearded man was found, they concluded at once that it was an idol, or Djin, and cursed and spat upon it; if a eunuch, they pronounced it a beautiful female, and kissed or patted the cheek. The ardour of the master extended to the men, who, in a short time, sympathized with Layard in the inter-

est excited by new discovery. When a fresh sculpture was discovered they would strip themselves almost naked, give their long hair to the wind, and rush like madmen through the trenches with the baskets of rubbish, making the vaults resound with their cries.

It was now time to take some steps for the embarkation of such sculptures as could be moved, and their transport to Baghdad, preparatory to their removal to Bombay. It was in vain to think of moving the gigantic lions, or the other larger sculptures, with the means then at command. Layard, therefore, determined to send only a few slabs, and such of the sculptures as could be moved without much difficulty. These having been removed from the trenches with levers and the ill-made native ropes, were packed in felts and matting, and screwed down in cases, remarkable rather for strength than finished workmanship. They were removed from the ruins to the Tigris in buffalo carts, and then placed on a raft formed of the inflated skins of goats and sheep, fixed to a square framework of poplar beams. The cargo reached Baghdad by this conveyance, and were thence transferred to Busrah in boats, whence they were subsequently shipped to Bombay.

Again was the work of excavation interrupted at Nimroud—this time, however, by a new and less exceptionable agency. The heat had become intolerable, the thermometer ranging, even in the shade of the trenches, from 112 to 117 degrees. The hot winds swept over the desert like a furnace-blast, and made continuance at the works impossible. Layard, whose health had begun to suffer from exposure to the sun, and from incessant application, determined to try the effect of a week's residence in the underground apartments of Mósul, hoping, at the same time, to have another opportunity of examining the mound of Kouyunjik. After spending a short time in his retreat, and satisfying himself that it was not then desirable to spend more time at that excavation, he returned to Nimroud in the middle of August, restored by rest, and again attempted to renew the excavations. The heat, however, was still too violent for labour, and brought on a return of his former indisposition, and he resolved to suspend his exertions, and visit the cool mountainous country of the Chaldean Christians till September.

When Layard returned to Mósul from visiting the Chaldean Christians, and the Devil worshippers, a new prospect was opened before him. A letter which awaited him there brought intelligence that the British Museum had received a grant of funds for the continuation of the researches commenced at Nimroud. The grant was miserably inadequate, being less than that assigned to M. Botta for the excavations of Khorsabad alone, while it was to include private

expenses, those of carriage, and the innumerable charges which must be incurred in a strange country where such a work is to be carried out. Layard was, however, determined to go on, and endeavoured to take the meagreness of the supplies as a compliment to his economical skill; for it appeared that, notwithstanding the niggardliness of the dole, the highest expectations were formed of the results of his undertaking. He had expected that the aid of a draughtsman—so important where every day's labours were revealing sculptures and inscriptions too far decayed for removal—would have been afforded him; but in this he was disappointed. It was only by drawings that a record of very many Assyrian antiquities could be preserved, and Layard, while lamenting the want of knowledge and experience as a draughtsman, made up his mind to do his best; and copied, as carefully and accurately as he could, the figures before him. Besides drawing all the bas-reliefs discovered, and copying the innumerable inscriptions, he took casts of a great number of the slabs and sculptures. No shops nicely furnished with every appliance for taking casts were accessible. But ingenuity supplied the lack of convenience: common brown paper was made into a kind of paste, and mixed with a glutinous powder derived from a root found in the desert, and with this moulds were made, from which plaster casts have since been taken in England. This was itself a work sufficient to claim the collective energies of an ordinary man. But it was the least part of the labour imposed on Layard. None but he could preside over the removal and packing of the sculptures, overlook the diggers, carry on the necessary communications with the authorities, and hold intercourse with the inhabitants. The division of employments naturally indicated by these multifarious kinds of duty, would have involved an outlay in which the whole grant must have been expended, before the excavations were commenced. Layard had but one object—to procure for the British nation as extensive and complete a collection of Assyrian antiquities as he could possibly collect; and he resolved to devote his whole time to the undertaking, and to make every sacrifice to insure its success.

Once more it was necessary to organize a band of workmen at Nimroud. Corn was scarce, and Mósul was filled with Bedouins, ready to gain a subsistence by labours which they would ordinarily spurn. By engaging these wanderers, and selecting but one workman from each family, Layard drew around Nimroud their tents and families in a sort of encampment, and thus acquired a certain guarantee against the depredations of their plundering brethren. For the work of digging and plying the pickaxe, about fifty of the more robust Nestorian Chaldeans were hired, and these, too, took their

wives and families with them to Nimroud. Awad, Layard's original foreman, still remained at the works; a skilful and intelligent marble cutter from Syria was discovered and retained; and a carpenter and two or three artizans of Mósul became superintendents.

The winter season was fast approaching by the time that these arrangements were completed. At the end of October, Layard was again among the ruins. A mud-brick house was raised on the spot, to shelter him and his servants, and another was reared on the mound for the Nestorians and their families. The Arabs were divided for purposes of defence into three parties, each well armed, and posted at the entrances of the principal trenches, around Layard's dwelling, and on the bank of the river. For purposes of labour the workmen were divided into bands of eight or ten Arab basket carriers, and two or four Nestorian diggers; it was the superintendent's duty to keep them to their work,—and to give Layard notice when a slab was approached, or small object exposed to view which he might desire to assist in removing. He scattered a few Arabs of a hostile tribe amongst the rest, in order to learn what was going on,—what plots were brewing,—and thus detect attempts to appropriate any stray relics discovered. As he was directed to bury the building with earth, after he had explored it,—to avoid expense, he filled up each chamber with the rubbish taken from those subsequently uncovered, having first examined the walls, copied the inscriptions, and drawn the sculptures. On the first of November the excavations were begun on a large scale, and the working parties were distributed over the mound. New chambers were rapidly explored and bas-reliefs of the highest interest daily discovered. Battles, sieges, victories, triumphs, banquetings, and sacrifices were now beheld, sculptured on innumerable slabs, and an obelisk of black marble covered with inscriptions seemed a still greater treasure. This precious relic was instantly packed for transport, and not left unguarded by night or by day, until it was safely placed on the raft for Baghdad. The month of November, 1846, was amongst the most prosperous and fruitful in events which Layard spent in Assyria. Every day produced some new discovery. The Arabs entered with alacrity into the work, and soon felt greatly interested in the results. Within a few weeks they were so well organized, that there was no difficulty in managing them; even their private disputes and domestic quarrels being referred to their employer,—as they found that this was cheaper than litigation, and that they received an ampler measure of justice than could have been expected from the Cadi. The principal quarrels, over which his jurisdiction extended, related to property abstracted by the Arabs from one another's tents. Such cases were

disposed of in a summary manner, with the aid of hand-cuffs; but the domestic dissensions were of a more serious nature, and their adjustment offered far greater difficulties—as they related, of course, to the women. As soon as the workmen saved a few piastres, their thoughts were turned to the purchase of a new wife, a striped cloak, and a spear. To the first, the old wife naturally raised objections; then the fathers and brothers were dragged into the affair,—from whom it extended to various branches of the tribes. At other times, a man repented of his bargain, and refused to fulfil it: or a father required a higher price for his daughter: or a workman returning hungry from his work, and finding his bread unbaked, or the water-skin still lying empty, or the bundle of faggots for the evening fire yet ungathered, would, in a moment of passion, pronounce three times the awful sentence, and divorce his wife,—or, avoiding such extremities, would content himself by inflicting summary punishment with a tent-pole. Layard's impartiality in the character of an arbitrator, made his court famous, and others beside his own people besought his intervention. The women looked up to him as their especial protector. The number of their domestic quarrels had been greatly reduced, and they were relieved from many hardships. The future filled them with apprehensions, which on one occasion were thus expressed by a deputation sent to return thanks after an entertainment:

“O, Bey! we are your sacrifice. May God reward you! Have we not eaten wheat bread, and even meat and butter, since we have been under your shadow. Is there one of us that has not now a coloured handkerchief for her head, bracelets and ankle-rings, and a striped cloak? But what shall we do when you leave us, which God forbid you ever should do? Our husbands will then have their turn, and there will be nobody to help us.”

The meals of the Arab workmen were brought to them at the mound by the younger children, and rarely consisted of more than a loaf of millet bread and a little water; yet they were merry and jocund. During the short time they had to rest, one told a story, which, if not concluded at a sitting, was resumed on the following day. Sometimes a pedlar from Mósul, driving before him his donkey laden with rasins or dried dates, would appear on the mound, where Layard would buy up his store and distribute it amongst the men—a largess that would excite a degree of satisfaction and enthusiasm which any one not acquainted with the character of the Arab might have thought more than equivalent to the consideration. Of an evening, when the day's labours were concluded by Layard, a dance would be commenced; itinerant Kurds, with their pipe and tabor, would generally be present; travelling Arabs would join the party,

and the amusement would continue through a great part of the night. The repast on these occasions was frequently supplied at Layard's own charge. The Arabs would, in return, invite him to their feasts, the whole banquet, perhaps, consisting of half-a-dozen raisins or dates spread out upon a corn-sack to make the best show, a pat of butter, and a flat cake. But it was sincerely offered; and the poor host, as he turned his dirty headkerchief and cloak to look smart, was as proud of entertaining his guest as if it had been impossible to doubt that he was conferring, as well as receiving, honour. By such means Layard tried, and successfully, to create a good feeling amongst all, and to obtain their cheerful co-operation in his work.

The Nestorians seldom left the mound on which their residences were built, and whither they had brought their wives and families. Sundays, holidays, and festivals were kept by these people on the ruins with the strictest regularity; and a Christian congregation might be seen, on such occasions, kneeling bareheaded to worship the true God, under the great idols before which Pagans had bowed for a different purpose three thousand years before. Between the Mussulman and Christian workmen, frequent disputes arose, which led to the drawing of swords and priming of matchlocks; but the firmness of the employer in a short time repressed this disorder. Layard himself was usually stirring by day-break, and reached the mound betimes after a hurried breakfast. By day there were directions to be given to the diggers; particular spots required visitation; here, a little engineering skill was required in the removal of a sculpture; there, the deficiency of some material was to be compensated. When his assistance was not required in the works, Layard was copying and moulding inscriptions, or drawing sculptures and bas-reliefs—works which were finished and compared in the quiet of the village, often at the midnight hour. Such was the manner of life at the excavations of Nimroud.

The large band now at work rapidly uncovered the buried treasures; and, by the end of the second month, a sufficient number of bas-reliefs were collected to load a second raft for Baghdad. Layard proceeded to Mósul, bought spars and skins for a raft, and mats and felts for packing the sculptures, and returned to Nimroud, leaving the raftsmen to bring the purchases by water. On their way, having found it necessary to halt for the night, they were plundered by Arabs; and the mats, felts, and cordage were carried off. This was a proceeding which Layard was determined should not become a precedent. He applied, in the first place, to the authorities, and received the usual answer—an excuse for inaction. In three or four days he learned who were the robbers, and determined to make them feel

that they were not to carry their incursions into his quarters with impunity. Taking with him two trusty Arabs, expert at their weapons, he came upon the guilty sheikh in the midst of his followers, and politely asked for the missing articles, some of which were hanging up in his sight. When the sheikh and his party had stoutly denied the possession of the goods in question, one of Layard's two attendants handcuffed the old man in a moment, and, jumping on his horse, dragged him out of the encampment at a most uncomfortable pace. The suddenness of the performance paralyzed the by-standers, who were well supplied with arms. The sheikh was carried to Nimroud, where he thought it wiser to make a full confession, than journey to Mósul and confront the Pasha. Next morning an ass appeared in the court-yard, bearing the missing property, with an added kid and a lamb, as a conciliatory offering. The sheikh was liberated; and Layard had no subsequent reason to complain of him or his tribe.

By the middle of the month, the second load of sculptures, including the black marble obelisk, with two female divinities, and the kneeling winged figures, were ready to be sent to Baghdad. The wheels of the Pasha's old buffalo-carts again creaked under the monuments of Assyria, and, on Christmas day, 1846, Layard saw them safe on board the raft, watched them out of sight, and galloped off to Mosul, to enjoy the festive season with such Christian companions as he could find in that remote corner of the globe.

With the commencement of the new year Layard was again working at the mound of Nimroud. In the four following months he explored almost the entire north-west palace, opened twenty new chambers and halls, and discovered innumerable slabs and sculptures of considerable interest and importance. The means at his disposal did not warrant him in searching for objects which he could not hope to carry away. He therefore spent the greater portion of his time in exposing the monuments previously discovered. An opportunity now offered of examining the mounds of Kalah Shergat, ruins rivalling those of Nimroud in extent, but which the reputation of the vicinity as a rendezvous for plundering parties had preserved from the spoliation of the traveller. The long drought at Mósul had now, however, driven many of the Jebour tribe, friends of Layard, towards those ruins, and he resolved, to profit by the circumstance, to visit them under that protection.

Accompanied by a few picked guards, Layard rode to the ruins along the edge of the jungle. Hares, wolves, foxes, jackals, and wild boars continually emerged from the brushwood, in which they disappeared again as soon as the dogs of the party gave chase. Some Jebour workmen set about opening trenches, and their superintendent organized a

system of defence, with scouts and sentinels, armed with matchlock and spear. There was reason for believing that these demonstrations were intended as much to impress Layard with the risks incurred by his workmen, and so to enhance the market price of their services, as to awe the Arabs. However, it soon appeared that the neighbourhood was in a very unsettled state, every man looking out for opportunities to secure his neighbour's property.

Having hastily examined the ruins, Layard retired to his tent, which the Arabs had pitched in a secure place in the jungle. The night was cold and damp, and the Arabs, collecting brushwood from the jungle, kindled a blazing fire. When supper was ended, a storm came on, the wind blew in fearful gusts, the rain descended in torrents, the thunder kept up an incessant peal, and the lightning illumed the surrounding desolations. When the storm had subsided, the fire, which now blazed high, threw a lurid glare on the scene, amidst which the vast old mound rose like a mountain against the dark sky. The wail of the jackal, and the dismal screech of the owl, were mingled with the shrill cry of the Arab, and all were at times drowned in the reverberations of the distant thunder. Perhaps so many signs of desolation never met in one association before.

Layard remained at Kalah Shergat but a few days, and returned to Nimroud, having left a superintendent to continue excavations at the former place. In less than a week he was compelled to recal this party, as the Jebour tribe was forced to leave Kalah Shergat from want of pasturage. The desert to the south of that town was only frequented by predatory bands, and the position of the workmen, thus isolated, became daily more insecure. Layard renounced the excavation of these mounds with great reluctance, having satisfied himself that they contained many objects of interest, if not sculptured slabs. A sitting figure discovered there has since been removed to England, to join the Nimroud sculptures in the British Museum.

Nimroud, and even Mósul, were now becoming unsafe residences, as the predatory Arabs, pressed by the famine, were pitching their camps every day nearer the town. This circumstance induced Layard to undertake the removal of the larger sculptures as early as possible, and their embarkation for Busrah before he should be compelled to leave Nimroud. The drought had prevented the formation of the marsh which ordinarily intervenes between the mound and the river in the spring, while the stream itself was unusually favourable to raft navigation.

Having decided to attempt the removal of the lion and bull, two of the best preserved of the many sculptures which lay around, Layard formed various plans for dragging them to the river, and em-

barking them on the rafts. Many of the propositions of the natives, unused to deal with large weights, were most amusing. It was at length resolved to build a cart of the greatest possible strength, of such materials as were to be obtained. The poplar wood of the place was too soft and weak for this purpose, and a carpenter was accordingly commissioned to proceed to the mountains, and fell mulberry timber, and convey beams and slices of it to Mósul. This wood was ready by the month of March. A pair of strong iron axles were fortunately met with at Mósul. Each wheel for the carriage was made of three solid pieces of mulberry nearly a foot thick, which were bound together by an iron hoop. Three strong wooden beams were laid over the axles in the direction of the draught, and cross beams retained these in their position, and strengthened the frame. A pole was added, furnished with rings to admit a rope by which the men and animals employed might draw the carriage.

The natives came in crowds to admire this wonderful machine, and the Pasha's artillerymen, supposed from their familiarity with gun-carriages, to be authorities on the subject, delivered a continual series of lectures on the nature and property of the vehicle to the curious bystanders. Such was the excitement while the cart stood still in its shed; but when the news spread that the mysterious engine was about to move out of the town, all business was suspended. The Pasha's officers of state left the palace, soldiers stole from their posts, merchants deserted the bazaar, and half the population assembled on the river banks to witness the singular phenomenon. The cart was to be got over the "bridge" of Mósul, a chain of rude boats overlaid with planks and earth. A pair of buffaloes and a crowd of Chaldeans and Arabs accomplished this task to the satisfaction of the multitude, and the cart, without accident, rolled heavily down to the ruins.

The bull was now to be raised from the spot where it had so long quietly rested, and to be placed on the carriage which stood at the edge of the mound on the plain below, a distance of two hundred feet. For this purpose it was necessary to make a road through the mound, and a trench was cut fifteen feet wide, and in some places seventy feet deep. Around the bull a large open space was formed, so that the energies of the workmen might have free scope. The figure was to be lowered from its pedestal on its back; but this was a work of no small difficulty. During its descent from the standing to the recumbent posture it could only be sustained by ropes which might break, and involve the destruction of the sculptures. Although ropes had been sent for from Aleppo across the desert, the best of them were too small to be relied on. A stout hawser had been obtained

from Baghdad, made of the fibres of the palm; and two pairs of blocks, and a pair of jack-screws had been borrowed from the stores of the Euphrates expedition. These were all the resources at Layard's command for removing the bull and lion.

By the middle of March the earth and rubbish had been cleared away from the bull, which was now retained in its place only by beams which sprang from the opposite side of the excavation. Well-greased sleepers of poplar were laid down on the ground parallel to the sculpture, and over these several thick rollers on which the object was to be lowered. A deep trench had been cut in the solid mass of masonry at some distance behind and above the bull, and the square block thus exposed formed a sort of column to which the ropes used for lowering the bull might be fixed. Two of the pulleys were secured to this mass of earth by a coil of ropes, and two others to the bull to be moved, and between these two points the tackle worked. On each side of the bull stood a strong party of Arabs, holding the ends of the ropes, and behind it some strong Chaldeans were directed to hold strong beams which they were to withdraw gradually, and so take the strain off the ropes as far as possible. Besides the workmen before engaged, a number of the Abou-Salman Arabs were present with their Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman, and a considerable number of volunteers from Nimroud and Naifa. The men being ready, and all preparations made, Layard stationed himself on the top of the bank of earth just behind the bull, where his eye and voice could command the workmen, and ordered the men to strike out the supporting wedges. Still the bull remained erect. A rope having been passed over it, five or six men tilted it over. The Baghdad hawser stretched with the strain, and wore its way into the block of earth around which it was carried, but the smaller ropes did their work well, and the bull began to descend slowly towards the rollers. The critical moment would arrive as soon as the mass should be half lowered. The Chaldeans were at the beams, performing their task coolly and with care. The Arabs, wrought upon by the scene, and stimulated by the Kurdish pipers, were half frantic with excitement. They had flung off their loose garments, their long matted hair floated in the wind, and now they raised their war-cry, and indulged in the wildest gestures. Their women, who had gathered on the sides of the trenches, completed the work by giving the maddening *tahlel*. From this moment no superior order was heeded or even heard. The Cawasses plied their whips, and Layard having cried in vain, pelted the noisiest with clods and morsels of brick, but to no purpose. As the bull neared the rollers, the beams could no longer be used, and the entire strain was thrown on the ropes, which stretched and creaked more and

more. Just as the bull was within four or five feet of the rollers, they all broke together and the bull was precipitated to the ground. The Arabs behind it fell together in the contrary direction, with the ends of the broken ropes in their hands, and rolled over one another in the dust. A silent moment of suspense followed. Layard leaped into the trenches, expecting to see the bull in fragments. It was entire and uninjured! The Arabs, seeing the bull safe, rushed from the trenches, seized by the hands the women who were looking on, formed a large circle, and yelling their war-cry with redoubled energy, commenced a mad dance. Grave old Abd-ur-rahman was carried away with the excitement, and insisted upon leading off the *debkhé*. Layard was too deeply moved to imitate his example, but saw that it would be in vain to oppose these proceedings. While the Arab excitement exhausted itself, he led back his Chaldeans to the trench, and prepared to move the bull into the road-trench which led to the edge of the mound.

A sort of tram-way was laid down to the end of the track, over which the bull was to be dragged on rollers. These preparations ended, the sun began to decline, and further labour was deferred till the morrow.

The Arabs dressed themselves to return to the village, whither they marched, preceded by the musicians, singing their war songs, throwing their spears into the air, and flourishing their swords and shields over their heads. A feast had been prepared at the village, where sheep were killed and boiled whole, and hastily devoured. Dancing succeeded, and no Arab slept at Nimroud that night. The morrow was not thought of. Layard's remonstrances were answered with the war-cry and extravagant antics, meant to demonstrate the gratitude of the shouters.

Morning came, and the Arabs, still singing and capering, started for the trenches. The labour was simple. The bull, which had fallen on the frame, had only to be dragged forward on the rollers. These were removed in front as the sculpture advanced, and thus the journey to the end of the trench was speedily accomplished. When the bull arrived at the sloping edge of the mound, a cavity was cut to admit the cart, into which the sculpture was lowered by still further digging away the soil. The bull was now ready to be dragged to the river, and the buffaloes which were at first procured refusing to pull at the weight, the Arabs and Chaldeans, assisted by the villagers, in all three hundred men, drew the cart. In front was Layard, to point out the road; the Kurdish drummers and fifers followed, blowing and beating with might and main; the Cawasses and superintendents led the team, and the procession was closed by

the women, who kept up the enthusiasm of the men by their shrill cries. A body of horsemen hovered on the outskirts, and exhibited their delight by performing feats of agility with their spears.



PROCESSION OF THE WINGED BULL.

On reaching the village of Nimroud, the procession was brought to a sudden halt. Two wheels of the cart were seen buried in the ground. The Arabs pulled and yelled in vain, and the ropes were broken in the attempt to extricate the vehicle. The wheels had sunk in a concealed corn-pit, in which some villager had formerly stored his grain. Layard was compelled to leave the sculpture on the spot for the night with a guard. He had scarcely, however, retired to rest when the whole village was thrown into commotion by the reports of fire-arms and the war-cry of the Jebour. Some adventurous Bedouins, attracted by the ropes, mats, and felts with which the sculptures were invested, had fallen on the workmen. They were beaten off, but left their mark; for a ball indented the side of the bull. Next morning the wheels were raised by means of levers and boards; the procession was again in motion; the Arabs pulled and yelled as before; and, after some temporary obstructions, the bull was placed on the platform from which it was to slide to the raft. Here a small camp of Arabs was formed to guard the bull until its companion, the lion, should be in like manner brought down, and the two embarked together for Baghdat.

By the middle of April, this second sculpture had been brought down to the river amid the same shouting and festivities, and lion and bull were, side by side, ready for shipment as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made. On the 20th of the month, Layard determined to attempt the embarkation of his treasures. He had encountered infinite difficulty in procuring a raft capable of sustaining the journey with a burden so unusually heavy. No mechanic of any character in the East will construct any work otherwise than his fathers did before him; and had not fortune thrown in Layard's path a Baghdad raft-maker so heavily in debt, that a desperate undertaking seemed preferable to the prison which yawned for him, it is impossible to say how long the lion and bull might have gazed on the voyagers of the Tigris. The raft, buoyed by inflated skins, was at length, however, completed and laid alongside the platform. The high bank of the river had been cut away in a sloping direction to the water's edge, and the two sculptures were so placed on beams that, on the withdrawal of two wedges, they would slide into the centre of the raft.

On the morning appointed for the embarkation, Layard learned that a general strike for higher wages had taken place. Owing to the drought, the surrounding country was a barren waste, and the wandering population had been compelled to leave the district. The labourers had chosen the time fixed upon for embarking the sculptures under the impression that Layard would be reduced to compliance with their terms from the impossibility of obtaining any other assistance. In fact, in a few more days, the workmen at Nimroud would form almost the entire population of the neighbourhood. The villagers had diminished; the Abou-Salman were fast starting; and if these Jebours departed, Layard would be left not only without the means of carrying on the excavations, but destitute of all protection against the numerous parties of Bedouins who were preparing to pass the river for purposes of plunder. A better time for the demands of the Jebour could scarcely have been chosen. They were persuaded that Layard must comply with their demands, or leave the lion and bull where they were. But he was determined to do neither.

The Jebour workmen had struck their tents, their donkeys were loaded, and, with the exception of half a dozen more grateful families, all were apparently about to depart. This demonstration was lost upon Layard. Aware that one or two dronish sheikhs were at the bottom of the movement, he ordered their seizure, and prepared to dismiss the rest. The party at length, with gloomy looks, set in motion, continually looking back for some messenger to solicit their return. They took care to encamp for the night within sight of the

village, and Layard, with his Chaldeans and a few Arab families who remained, put themselves in a posture of defence.

As old Abd-ur-rahman's tribe was still within reach, a message was despatched to him, requesting the assistance of some of his Arabs. Work was also offered to a rival tribe of the discontented Jebours, who were encamped at no great distance from Nimroud.

A strong working party was thus formed; and the Jebours, perceiving the utter failure of their plans, repented, and offered their services at any price. All their overtures were declined, and preparations made for embarking the sculptures without their assistance.

An inclined plane, reaching from the figures to the river, was formed of beams of poplar wood, which were well greased. The large raft, supported by six hundred skins, was brought close to the bank; the wedges were removed, and the bull was slowly lowered into its place. The lion was next placed on board a second similar raft. In a few hours the two sculptures were properly secured, and by nightfall they were ready to set out on their long journey. Strange was the destiny of these images. They had adorned the palaces of Assyrian kings; had been objects of wonder, and perhaps of worship, to thousands; had been buried, unknown for ages, beneath a soil trodden by Persians under Cyrus, by Greeks under Alexander, and by Arabs under the first successors of the Prophet. They were now to visit India, to cross the most distant seas of the southern hemisphere, and to be finally placed in a British Museum, possibly, in some fortunate age, to confound the conjectures of antiquaries concerning the manners and religion of this island.

Returning to Nimroud, Layard met a party of the lately refractory Jebour, who were now lavish in professions of regret for what had passed, the blame of which they laid on the sheikhs. Selecting from the supplicants the few men whom he required, and administering a little wholesome discipline to the captive sheikhs, who had been the cause of the mischief, he dismissed the remainder of the tribe.

It was now necessary to take every precaution of defence against the incursions of the Bedouins, who roamed the neighbouring villages, and often reconnoitered the mound and camp. Loop-holes were opened in the walls of Layard's house, and patrols were posted at night to guard against attack, but no assault was made upon the expedition, although petty thefts were of nightly occurrence. Now, a donkey was carried off, and now a tent was missing. To the Arabs creeping out of their hiding-places like jackals, after dark, nothing was too small or worthless to escape notice, and the disappearance of an old corn-sack, or a copper pot, often threw the whole encampment into commotion. The plundering parties increased in number and bold-

ness, until at length a small Arab settlement, not far from Nimroud, was attacked by a band of horsemen, who murdered the inhabitants, and carried away the sheep and cattle. After this, the workmen at the mound protested in a body against any longer residence in a vicinity so dangerous. Finding that the men could not be kept much longer together, Layard prepared to bring the excavations to an end. Many portions of the ruins remained exposed, and these he now began to cover up with the previously-excavated rubbish. Without such a precaution, the sculptures would have suffered not only from the effects of the atmosphere, but from the spears and clubs of the Arabs, who are always ready to curse the idols of the unbelievers, and knock out their eyes. When Layard had thus far provided for the safety of the treasures, a small surplus of money remained at his disposal, which he proposed to devote to an examination of the ruins of Kouyunjik, opposite Mósul. By the middle of May the work at Nimroud had been finished, and Layard's little furniture, fastened on the backs of donkeys, was on its way to Mósul. Its owner reined up his horse, took a last glance at the ruins, and followed it thither.

The cursory examination of Kouyunjik completed, Layard's labours in Assyria were now drawing to a close. The ruins at Nimroud had been covered up, the sculptures taken thence were on their way to England, the inscriptions had been carefully copied, and it only remained to wind up affairs, take leave of friends, and turn his steps homewards after an absence of several years. Before his departure, he was desirous of giving an entertainment to the workmen who had remained faithfully by his side during his labours. A little village not far from Mósul, was chosen for the scene of festivity, and tents for the accommodation of guests were pitched. The feast was of the usual character, and at the conclusion of the entertainment, Layard addressed the workmen, inviting any who had been wronged to come forward and receive such redress as it was in his power to afford, and expressing his satisfaction at the successful termination of their labours without a single accident. Sheikh Khalaf, answered for his companions. They had lived he said, under their employer's shadow, and, God be praised, no one had cause to complain. Now that he was leaving, they should leave also, and seek the distant banks of the Khabour, where at least they would be far from the authorities, and be able to enjoy the little they had saved. All they wanted was each man a *teskerè*, or note, to certify that they had been in his service. This would not only be some protection to them, but they would show his writing to their children, and would tell them of the days they had passed at Nimroud. Please God, Layard should return to the Jebour, and live in tents with them on their old pasture grounds—where there were as many ruins

as at Nimroud, plenty of plunder within reach, and gazelles, wild boars, and lions for the chase. After Sheikh Khalaf had concluded, the women advanced in a body, and made a similar address. He gave a few presents to the principal workmen and their wives, and all were highly satisfied with their treatment.

On the 24th of June, Layard set out with a large body of horsemen, to return to Europe; all the European residents of Mósul rode out with him to some distance from the town. At the foot of the bridge of boats were the wives and daughters of his workmen, who clung to his horse, many of them shedding tears as they kissed his hand. The greater part of the male Arabs insisted upon journeying with him to the first halting-place, the village of Tel-Kef. In this village supper had been prepared for the party, which sat on the house-top till midnight. The horses were then loaded and saddled, Layard bade a last farewell to the Arabs, and started on the first stage of the journey to Constantinople.



CHAPTER VII.

THE MOUNDS.

THE architecture of the Assyrians, as illustrated in its only relics, the great Temple-palaces, cannot be understood without some preliminary reference to the nature of the mounds on which they were built. The monumental, royal, or sacred character of these edifices demanded that they should possess all the advantages of an imposing site; but the principal settlements of the Assyrians were on the flat alluvial plains watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates. On all sides a vast expanse, unbroken by a single eminence, stretched out, the nearest elevation occurring at the foot of the Armenian hills. If the temples of gods, or the palaces of the kings, were to be rendered more conspicuous than the humble edifices by which they were surrounded; or if the castle, or permanent residence of the garrison, was to be built so as to afford the best means of resistance to the enemy, then the absence of natural elevations rendered it necessary to construct an artificial platform. The eminence was not hastily made by accumulating a heap of earth, but regularly and systematically built of brick. Hence the origin of these vast structures, which arrested the attention of Xenophon, and still astonish the traveller by their extent and solidity.

As no mound has hitherto been so fully explored as that of Khor-sabad, and moreover, since no other gives us so much insight into the plan of the cities, as well as the temples of the Assyrians, a description of its configuration and structure will best give an idea of all the mounds.

The following are the dimensions of this double mound, taken as correctly as the unequal inclinations and the irregularities would allow:—

Length from north-west to south-east	. . .	983 feet.
Breadth of the large rectangle	. . .	983 „
Breadth of the little rectangle	. . .	590 „

The common summit is nearly flat, although not everywhere of the same level. The north-west portion, forming what we have termed the lower rectangle, is the more elevated, and always pre-

serves the same height. Within a line which would pass over the mound, and sever the two mounds, the level gradually sinks towards the east, so that the south-east side is much lower than the north-west. About the middle of the south-west side, in the right angle formed by the junction of the two portions, there is a little cone, which is the most elevated point, and commands all other parts of the surface.

The isolation of this mass, in the midst of the plain, rendered its aspect sufficiently imposing: but it is impossible to give the exact elevation: Botta says that it exceeded forty, and certainly did not exceed fifty-one feet in height.

This cone is surmounted by a small square tower, altogether modern, and differing in nothing from the actual style of buildings now in use in these parts.

Near the northern angle of the mound is a well, which, from its being situated on the bank of a river, seems useless: this well is believed to be an ancient work. The bottom of it is paved with a stone with seven holes, through which water of the greatest freshness gushes forth in abundance: this water, according to the inhabitants, is much more healthy than that in the neighbourhood. It has a taste slightly sulphurous. The fact of the above-mentioned stone at the bottom of the well induces the belief in its antiquity, for it is a trouble that no one in these countries would, now-a-days, take. It is possible that the ancient inhabitants, like the present ones, believing in the salubrity of this water, thought of bringing it by a subterranean conduit from the adjacent mountain.

The summit of the mound offers nothing worthy of attention: the village, placed upon the highest portion, and embracing the large cutting of the north-west side, covered most of the ruins: the largest level part of it, which gently slopes down towards the interior of the enclosure, was cultivated, and differed in nothing from the soil of the neighbourhood.

Besides the mound of Khorsabad, Botta distinctly traced the walls of the city forming nearly a perfect square, two sides of which are 5750 feet, the other 5400, or rather more than an English mile each way, all the four angles being right angles. One of its sides extended in a line drawn from the north to the west corners of the large mound, so that it would have cut off the smaller mound, had it not been broken into, so as to allow the small mound, with its palace, to rise in the gap. It is probable that at the points where the line seems to be interrupted, the city wall was turned, so as to run round the little mound, as it is impossible to suppose that the palace was left the most exposed part of the city.

The fortified enclosure of the mound of Khorsabad forms a large and very regular rectangle; the wall surrounding it, and which, at the present day, looks like a long tumulus of a rounded shape, is surmounted, but at irregular intervals, by elevations which jut out beyond it, inside as well as outside, and indicate the existence of small towers. The direction of the rectangle is such, that its diagonals are directed towards the cardinal points.

The northern angle of the wall is, like the other three, a perfect right-angle. From this point the wall stretches very regularly to the south-east, becoming more elevated and distinct; as we advance it assumes the aspect of a large causeway, a great number of fragments of bricks being observable on the soil. At 490 feet from the angle a narrower wall springs out into the interior, runs to the north-east, and terminates in a rounded eminence, which seems to point out the place of a tower; there is a similar, but more considerable, eminence on the boundary wall itself. And lastly, farther on, a cutting is visible, through which a little stream penetrates into the interior of the enclosure. The wall then continues in a straight line to the eastern angle, and is remarkable for nothing besides another tower. The north-eastern side has, therefore, three towers, if we include that which terminates the accessory wall. Beyond the cutting that affords a passage for the streamlet, the exterior ditch begins to be distinguished. On this base rises a brick wall. As many as twelve regular layers of it were counted in a total height of 6 feet and a half. The size of these bricks is similar to that of those composing the mass of the mound, and they are not, any more than these latter, separated from each other by strata of reeds, nor united with bitumen or any other kind of cement.

The wall which forms the south-eastern side is very distinct; this is also the case with the ditch which bounds it for its whole length. The wall offers nothing else remarkable, except an external enlargement and two towers.

The southern angle, like the rest, is a perfect right-angle; on coming up with the ditch it ceases to be distinct, so that it appears to bound only two sides of the enclosure. At some distance from the southern angle, the south-western side shows traces of some rather remarkable accessory constructions. A wall springs out from it into the interior, and forms a square. One of the sides of this square, in which no signs of any opening are visible, is formed by the wall of the enclosure itself, which is considerably widened at this point, and assumes the aspect of a mound, jutting out on the exterior, sending into the plain two long prolongations or counterforts. This plan is very similar to that of the mound at Khorsabad itself; and the resem-

blance would be complete, if the internal square, formed by the accessory wall, were filled up instead of containing an empty space. Several excavations were made on this spot, but without success: all that was found were some stones without any inscriptions or sculpture, and some fragments of bricks. In its actual condition, it is impossible to say what this kind of enclosure, without any outlet, and itself shut up in the great enclosure, could have been. The south-western side of the latter contains nothing else remarkable except two towers, placed so as to divide this side into three pretty equal portions. There is also here another cutting, through which the streamlet which enters the enclosure through the north-eastern side escapes. It is also through this cutting that the road passes which leads from Mósul to Khor-sabad.

Setting out from the western angle, the wall returns to the north-east, and forms a part of the north-west side; it gradually sinks towards its termination, leaving an opening between the mound and itself. Near its termination a small eminence points out the place of one more tower: and, lastly, there is a cutting. Through this a stream, which detaches itself from the small river, passes, and unites itself with the stream that traverses the enclosure. This same river runs parallel to the whole north-western side of the enclosure, gradually flowing nearer to it, so as to pass very near to the western angle, round which it turns by making a slight bend; it is a branch of the Na'our, and employed in watering the country, so that it is often dried up when its waters have been diverted upon the surrounding fields.

It is evident, from the description just given, that the outward wall of Khorsabad exhibits traces of eight towers. Besides these there are several similar mounds scattered here and there in the plain. Among others, one of considerable dimensions. The isolation and conical shape of these little elevations do not allow a doubt of their artificial origin. They probably contain remains of ancient buildings.

The openings which give access to the enclosure are five in number, and they are all situated in the north-western portion. Three of them seem to have been intended to afford the water a free passage. It is at present difficult to say whether they date from ancient times and, consequently, are a part of the primitive plan. However, if, as is probable, this vast enclosure was destined to contain the gardens of the palace constructed upon the mound, we are justified in supposing that some of these cuttings were made in order to give passage to the water necessary for horticultural purposes, and without which, in this country, vegetation is out of the question.

The ground comprised within this vast enclosure is generally horizontal; at some points, however, it is rather depressed, and the waters collecting there form swamps. The nature of the plants in these swamps indicate the presence of salt, and those portions of them which are dried up by the heat of the sun during summer are covered with white efflorescences. It was this portion of the road comprised within the enclosure which offered the greatest obstacles for the transport of the sculptures; for, although the ground appeared firm and solid at the surface, at least during the hot season, it formed nothing more than a thin crust, covering the water or mud, in which the wheels of the waggon sank so deeply, that the most strenuous efforts were required to extricate them.

Mr. Fergusson truly observes, that at first sight it might be supposed that the enclosure, formed by what he presumes to have been the city walls, was only a paradisus, or park, attached to the palace; the immense thickness and solidity of the wall, however, he thinks, entirely destroys such a theory; and he goes on to state that it does not require walls 45 feet thick, and more than 30 feet in height, to enclose game; whereas, too, if they were meant for defence, there must have been inhabitants to defend them, for a mere guard could not man a wall more than four miles in length. He considers, therefore, that we are justified in considering this mound as the site of the city of Khorsabad, and as such it would, allowing fifty square yards to each individual, contain a population of between 60,000 and 70,000 souls, a large number for a city in those days. The perfect facility with which the city walls can be traced, as well as those opposite Mósul, Mr. Ferguson considers, is in itself quite sufficient to refute the idea of those who would make the old city extend from Nimroud to Khorsabad, for he states that neither between nor beyond these ruins, nor connecting them in any way, can any trace of walls or mounds be found. He also observes, that if they can be traced so distinctly in these two localities, traces of them would be found elsewhere had they ever existed; and considers that till they are found, we are justified, even from this circumstance alone, in assuming what every other consideration renders so probable, that they never existed, but that these were two independent cities, and quite as large, too, as the country could well support.

In his valuable essay on this subject, Mr. Fergusson calls attention to the circumstance that there are now two very considerable gaps between the walls and the mound, larger on the southern than on the northern side; but there can be no doubt but that they once almost touched, probably overlapped, the inner and lower part of the mound, so as to afford a circuitous and perfectly flanked entrance on this side

to the city, and at the same time to prevent the possession of the city and its walls necessitating the fall of the palace. It is not difficult, however, to account for their present enlargement; for the waters of Khausser, when it overflows, rush, apparently, through the southern gap, and sometimes also through the northern one, into the deserted, and now marshy enclosure of the city; and it requires only a slight degree of assistance from a running stream to enable the almost tropical rains of that country to abrade a large gap in a mud wall like this one.

The terrace on which the palace itself stood was, as nearly as can be ascertained, square in general plan, and measuring about 660 feet each way, and projecting about 500 feet beyond the line of the walls of the city into the plain. It was not, however, bounded by straight lines, but, like that of Persepolis, broken by angular projections and indentations, which it is now impossible to follow, as the revetement wall has only been uncovered in two places, while at the northern angle of the palace, and for some way on each side of it, the mound has been entirely removed, either from having its foundations sapped by the overflowing of the brook that runs so close to it, or because its stones have been removed by the peasantry, having been found particularly accessible at this point.

The surrounding plain offers hardly anything worth notice, except that, opposite the mound, and on the other side of the little river, there are some undulations in the soil, which indicate, perhaps, the existence of ancient works.

Such is the actual condition of the mound, which serves as a base for the Palace of Khorsabad, and of the wall intended to enclose its dependencies. Botta, being deceived by external appearances, thought for a long time that the mound was simply an accumulation of earth which had been brought there for that purpose, but excavations made at different places showed that it was a mass of bricks baked in the sun, and placed in regular layers. These bricks, unlike those baked in kilns, bear no inscriptions, nor is there any signs of chopped straw visible in their composition; the layers are nowhere separated, as at Babylon, by strata of reeds, nor are they united by any cement, either bituminous or calcareous. The bricks seem to be united merely with the same clay which was used to make them, so that, at present, they can be distinguished from the strata of the soil by the regular and often different-coloured lines only perceptible on the sides of the opened trenches; when the sides, however, have been a short time exposed to the action of the atmosphere and of the sun, these lines disappear, and nothing is then left to distinguish these masses of unburnt bricks from the surrounding earth.

The reader will easily conceive that an earthy mass, composed of brick merely dried, would not long have withstood the action of the elements and lime. It would not have been long before the upper portion sank and fell in. To obviate this result, which would soon have assisted in the ruin of the palace, the mound was surrounded with a very strong supporting wall, which served as a coating to the mass of bricks. This wall was constructed of blocks of a very hard calcareous stone, obtained from the neighbouring mountains.

During the long succession of ages posterior to the ruin of the Assyrian Empire, and the destruction of the Palace of Khorsabad, the stone coating, in spite of its solidity, fell necessarily into ruin, or was perhaps demolished, in order that the remains of it might be employed for other purposes. Nothing, then, any longer supporting the mass of bricks, the upper portions, as a natural consequence, sank in, and in this manner, doubtlessly, the slopes were formed.

This wall, 46 feet thick, consisted of a mass of unburnt bricks, supported on a base of stone rubbish covered externally with a coating of calcareous stone. This basement was not high; the internal stone rubbish being composed of irregularly shaped stones, piled together without cement. The blocks of the outward coating are cut only on their external surface, and on the sides which touch each other; the internal extremity next to the rubbish is rough.

The trench opened outside the wall laid bare the ruins of another structure, which must have occupied the bottom or the external bank of the ditch. Perhaps there was a door at this spot, and the structure in question was the remains of a causeway intended to serve as a means of passage across the ditch.

This mass of unburnt brick wall was not buried suddenly; before being so it must have remained during several ages exposed to the action of the atmosphere and the rain, it must therefore have fallen to decay and sunk down gradually, as must have been the case, also, with the great enclosure of Nineveh itself. It is to the gradual sinking of this earthen wall, which in some degree shifted its base, that must be attributed its present engulphment, and the great breadth of the tumulus which marks its place. In proportion as the summit was decomposed the detritus grew up at the base, until the summit was reduced to the level of the heaps of earth produced by the decomposition of the wall, and piled up on every side. This natural dilapidation must have then ceased, and the last rows of bricks, being protected by the rubbish, have been preserved up to our day.

On beholding these vast structures of brick, we naturally ask ourselves, whence the earth employed to form them could have been procured? It appears that the swamps in the enclosure, and those in

the neighbourhood, indicating, as they necessarily do, depressions on the surface of the soil, furnish us an answer to this question. These swamps, it is true, are now-a-days far from deep, and the ground almost everywhere appears to be of the same level; but it is easy to conceive that they have been gradually filled up by the detritus of plants, and the accumulation of mud brought down by the various streams, and the extreme antiquity of these monuments allows quite time enough to render this explanation plausible. Besides this, the ditch, although hardly visible now, may formerly have been very deep, and the earth which was taken out of it was, doubtless, enough to build the wall. It may be added that, at a little distance to the north of Khorsabad, there are vast moving bogs which, in all probability, also owe their origin to the extraction of the earth necessary to have made these bricks.





WINGED BULL.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PALACES OF ASSYRIA.

HAVING traced the external configuration and defences of an Assyrian city in one of the most favourable specimens of their remains, we may now proceed to examine more closely the public edifices, which are the only structures that remain in these ancient ruins. These we shall continue to call indifferently palaces or temples, until an opportunity presents itself of inquiring at leisure how far the one or the other appellation may be in strictness applied. As in no buildings of any age or country have carved figures borne so large a share in structural art, it will be impossible to speak of Assyrian architecture without trespassing at times upon the region of sculpture. The reference, however, will be but incidental, in order to allow us to examine the second subject in the succeeding chapter.

The palace of Khorsabad offers the greatest facilities for considering Assyrian architecture; for although it has been injured like the other palaces, its features have not been entirely obliterated by the fire which destroyed it: it has also the great advantage of standing on a mound of its own, unmixed with buildings of a modern or earlier date. Moreover, it is the only one of the Assyrian palaces that has been thoroughly explored and excavated, and of which we have a full description. The wall of the mound of Khorsabad has already been mentioned. We have seen that the sides of the city do not face the cardinal points, but the angles point nearly to them. The wall

which looks to the north-west is broken in the centre, and in the gap stands the single palace.

The mound, or terrace, on which the palace stands was square in its outline, and measures about 600 feet each way. It does not stand level with the face of the city, but projects about 500 feet into the great Assyrian plain. This terrace, the upper and smaller mound of the plan, was not bounded by straight lines, but its border presented a series of angular projections and indentations, of which, however, only a trace here and there is to be detected. What may once have stood on the lower and larger mound is matter of conjecture, since the only traces of building found on it are those of a gateway. Possibly the houses of the palace guard and the inferior officers and attendants may have stood here; but it is just as likely to have been a garden, as that is almost a constant adjunct to an eastern palace. The gateway, however, is still traced there; and whether the palace were approached through gardens or the houses of attendants, the existence of this portal seems to indicate the chief entrance from the city, the more especially as the principal façade of the palace fronts this way.

About 100 feet inwards from the edge of the mound, M. Botta discovered a platform fifty feet broad, which rises in front of the chief entrance to the palace, and is built with kiln-burnt bricks, supposed to have formed the Propylæ. On its outer edge Botta found the remains of a splendid bull. Each side consists of two winged human-headed bulls, standing back to back, and between them a gigantic human figure strangling a lion in his arms, the whole group being fifteen feet in height. The same figures are repeated on the other side, but between the two groups stood two other winged bulls, looking outwards, designed on a yet more gigantic scale. How the ascent from this platform to the palace was effected must be conjectured, as Botta did not explore this spot for the broad flight of stairs which the analogies of Persepolis make it almost certain existed there. A people like the Assyrians, who built their palaces on platforms, must at a very early period have turned their attention to the ornamentation of their terraces; and probably this will be found some day to be the most striking feature of the edifice.

We now ascend to the upper platform, on which stood the palace itself, and take a survey of the buildings of which it was composed. These, as will be seen by reference to the plan, are divided into three groups—the harem court of the palace, the palace, properly so called, and the temple. These names are to a certain extent speculative, since a great deal still remains a blank. We cannot feel thoroughly sure of any general appropriation of these buildings until the mound is further excavated.



PLAN OF PALACE AT KHORSABAD

The harem court is supposed to have been the private portion of the palace, as distinguished from that used for purposes of state. Only two of its external façades now exist, or at least have been uncovered by excavation. These are the north-east and north-west fronts: the first forming one side of the space which we have called the outer court; and the second visible from the temple court, as shewn on the plan. In the centre of the north-east front of this group, the plan shews one of the most splendid portals of the whole edifice, consisting of two advanced pedestals, on each of which stand two bulls, back to back, and between them a giant strangling a lion. In the gateway, between the pedestals, two larger bulls, winged and with human heads, are seen. The whole of the wall, as well as that of the palace which it joins, is panelled with slabs of gypsum about ten feet in height, and covered with sculptures. The figures are larger than life, and shew the king in procession with his prin-

cial officers of state, and attended by eunuchs and soldiers. The north-west façade towards the temple court is much less magnificent than this, and possesses five doors. Of these the principal one is adorned by a pair of bulls. In the chambers into which these doorways opened nothing but mud and mud-brick was found, so that their form could not be traced. In the centre of this block of building, and nearly equidistant from its sides, is found a courtyard (the harem court in plan), proved to be such by its pavement of kiln-dried bricks, which are never used in the interior of rooms; and the presence of the winged bulls, which is never met with guarding internal communication between apartments; and by its freedom from the action of fire, which marks all the interior faces of the room yet discovered. The whole building thus circumscribed forms an oblong square of about 300 feet by 400.

Of this court-yard the plan shews the only three façades that have as yet been discovered. Each façade has a portal adorned with a pair of winged bulls: that towards the north-west leading to the temple court; the one opposite to it conducted to a range of apartments, separated from each other only by walls of sun-dried bricks, without the usual panelling of alabaster slabs. The third portal of this group is in the area of the principal façade, but so arranged that it was impossible for persons in the outer court to look into the interior, — a fact which favours the belief that this was the harem of the palace. A highly decorated but gloomy exterior, with the outer portal sufficiently magnificent to mark the residence of the monarch, but to which none are admitted but those who share the privacy of the king, is the idea prevailing in the harems of all the palaces of the east. The rooms of this harem, like every other, were comparatively small and mean, occupied by the wives of the king, their women and attendants, and some eunuchs. As it grew impossible to trace the distinction between the mud-brick walls and the mud in which they were buried, M. Botta gave up the unprofitable task of further exploration in these apartments.

The palace, properly so called, occupies the northern angle of the plan, and rears its external front of 150 feet in length on the north-west side of the outer court from the angle where it joins the harem wall. In the centre of the façade is an entrance-gate (leading to K), formed by two bulls; the projections on each side of it are ornamented only with human figures, like the whole of this façade, and not by double bulls, like the harem portals.

Behind these bulls was a great door opening to the passage K, ten feet in width and fifty-five in length. Both sides of this passage

are covered with rows of tribute-bearing people, with scribes and attendants; and between and below them a long inscription, which contains an epitome of all the wars of King Ninus. Being a passage and the principal entrance to the palace, it is paved neither with sun-dried nor baked bricks, but with large slabs of stone. It is still further distinguished from all the other apartments by exemption from the action of fire.

On each side of the portal that ends this passage, from the external court to the large opening, which we will call the palace court, is a small doorway, that on the right leading to two apartments (marked O and N), which Botta called the detached building, considering it as separated from the rest of the palace by the passage. These apartments were panelled with sculptured alabaster; their former length, owing to the ruined state of the building, undeterminate. On the left hand is seen a small room which may have been a guard chamber; and this again opens into another (F), one of the five large rooms in the palace, each of them being about 118 feet long, and varying from 33 feet to 22 feet in width. At the back of this room, and parallel to it, are two smaller chambers (marked L and M in plan), to which access is obtained only by one door in the centre of the room last mentioned. All these have the alabaster sculptures for a panelling.

But the grand suite of the palace consists of three rooms (marked B, E, and H), which are by far the most splendid of any to be found in the whole of this group. The principal of these, H, is approached by three doorways; one in the centre, adorned by two colossal winged bulls within the entrance, and two pairs, standing back to back on the outside: the side doorways are adorned by winged figures, both human and hawk-headed. The walls are covered to the height of ten feet or more with sculptured slabs of alabaster, and every portal is guarded by mythic figures, in character resembling those of the façade, but of more colossal proportion, and, if possible, a yet more dignified aspect. The internal bas-reliefs extend to 2500 feet in length; those on the outside measure 1500 feet, so that their total length extends to four-fifths of a mile. These sculptures exhibit the history of the achievements, and, indeed, of the feelings and aspirations, of the king under whose directions they were executed. War is the favourite subject represented, and this not by general and typical symbols, but with painful historical minuteness. The treatment of the captives is barbarously exhibited; one poor fellow, for instance, being flayed alive; others are suffering decapitation. Domestic state is alternated with foreign enterprise: the larger bas-reliefs representing the king and his

officers of state as receiving tribute and homage. Many are of a religious character; some are occupied by subjects of the chase; and others represent thrones, chariots, furniture,—in a word, all which the king prized or felt an interest in. And yet this last expression is too large; for no Assyrian women are ever introduced into these decorations. Females never appear here but as captives, or interceding for mercy from the walls of some falling city. The queen, so constant a feature in the sculptured state of Egypt, is absent from the walls in which Semiramis should have resided.

Above the sculptured slabs, the courses of sun-dried bricks, of which the walls are composed, are traceable to the height of three feet, making the total height of the walls about thirteen feet. Among the rubbish at the base of every wall in these chambers are found fragments of kiln-dried bricks, painted or enamelled on one of their faces. These, which represent architectural ornaments, honeysuckles, scrolls, &c., beautifully coloured, have fallen from their original position above the sculptures.

One building only remains to be described to complete the survey of the Khorsabad structure; this is the temple, situated deep in the interior of the palace. As this is the only trace of an Assyrian temple yet discovered, it would be by far the most interesting portion of the structure, were it not the most ruined. Unlike the rest of the palace, every part of the temple, terrace, pavement, and sculptured panels, is constructed of a black stone. The elevation of this building, on a level six feet above the harem court and palace, was probably the cause of its being ruined more than any other part of the edifice; for the builders of the neighbourhood are well aware of the superior quality of this black stone to the softer gypsum of the palace. It also stands much nearer the edge of the mound, and is thus more accessible to depredators than its companion buildings. The supporting wall of the terrace is furnished with a cornice, the only one yet discovered in Assyria. On the platform is a room 40 feet long by 33 wide, and in its centre a raised square block, intended to receive a statue or altar. The walls of the apartment are only indicated by two fragments of sculpture on one side, which present the usual group of two winged figures making offerings to the emblem of the deity, called the Sacred Tree.

Such is an epitome of the architectural discoveries at Khorsabad, which has been called the Windsor of the Ninevite kings. The size of the city walls permits us to allow it a population of 50,000 or 60,000 inhabitants.

It is now time to notice the results of excavations at Kouyunjik. Unfortunately, that great mound has been so inadequately explored,

that we are unable to restore the plan of its buildings. The excavation of the mound did not come within the limits of Dr. Layard's means; he, however, discovered ruins, which were evidently those of a palace of great extent and magnificence. From the size of the slabs, and the number of their figures, the walls when entire and painted must have been of considerable beauty. The dimensions of the rooms—one of which was 200 feet long and 45 feet wide—must have added greatly to the general effect. The palace rose nobly above the river, which swept round the foot of the mound on which it was built. The mound itself is 7800 feet in circumference, and consequently about four times the extent of that of Khorsabad. Excavations are still going on there; and it is stated that a palace of the same age as that of Khorsabad has been found buried beneath another built by the dynasty of Arbaces the Mede.

The Nebbi Yunus has never been dug into, and probably never will be while in the power of a Mussulman race, who hold the prophet Jonah in the highest veneration.

The great mound of Nimroud, whose ruins are finally to be noticed, contains three palaces. That called the north-west is by far the oldest monument of Assyrian art, and carries us back eight hundred or a thousand years earlier than the foundation of Khorsabad. The plan of this palace cannot as yet be restored, owing to its proximity to other buildings. It is probable that all its sculptured chambers have been explored; but there are the painted ones, of which we know neither the extent nor the position. We may, however, describe what has actually been laid bare. The only part of the palace which can be regarded as a main front faces the north; this has, however, partially fallen into the ravine over which it stands. In the centre of the mound lies buried a palace built by the son of that monarch who founded the principal palace. It is ruined less by fire and time than by wilful depredation, and many of its stones have been transferred, to be employed in the construction of a subsequent edifice; and many others packed for removal, as if the spoiler had been interrupted in his work. The third great edifice of Nimroud, called the south-west, from its being situated near that angle of the great mound, differs greatly from any that have been discovered elsewhere; but still its plan is not known, for, with the exception of a great hall, 165 feet long by 62 wide, the whole has been injured by fire, probably when Saracus, following the example of Sardanapalus, destroyed himself on the invasion of Cyaxeres.

It would answer no purpose to describe again the appearances common to all Assyrian palaces; we will therefore take a rapid survey of the north-west palace of Nimroud, and conclude this

chapter by pointing out some of the distinctive peculiarities of the architecture of these edifices.



WINGED LION.

A descent of about twenty feet from the level of the existing mound of Nimroud brings the visitor face to face with a pair of lions, winged and human-headed, forming a portal through which he passes, to enter the remains of the principal hall, where he is surrounded by sculptured gigantic winged figures, some with the heads of eagles, some human. To the left is another portal, also formed by winged lions; beyond this is a winged figure, and two slabs with bas-reliefs. Further on there are no traces of a wall; and on the opposite side he perceives, instead of sculptured slabs, a mass of solid brickwork. The bricks, however, are of unbaked clay, and can scarcely be distinguished from the surrounding soil. The ground here is strewn with the slabs of alabaster which have fallen from their places. The visitor picks up one, and perceives representations of chariots, horsemen, battles, and sieges. About a hundred feet further on he reaches another portal formed by winged bulls, in yellow limestone. Without turning into this opening, the visitor passes on, and sees another winged figure, holding a beautiful branch or flower in his hand, and apparently offering it to some deity. Beyond this sculpture, eight spirited bas-reliefs are found. The king is there chasing and killing the wild bull and the lion, and battering down towns. At the end of this hall an elaborate sculpture represents two kings standing beneath a divine emblem, the sacred tree between them, and attended by winged human figures. In front of this figure is the great stone

platform, where the king, seated on his throne, received ambassadors and courtiers. To the left is a fourth outlet from the hall, formed by another pair of lions. On this side the ruins are bounded by a ravine; the visitor returns, therefore, to the yellow bulls, and passing through the portal, which they guard enters a large chamber surrounded by eagle-headed figures. The remainder of the chambers, of which there are dozens, repeat the sculptures, mythic animals and human figures, in endless combinations, and continually supply fresh objects of curiosity and surprise.

The absence of windows in all the palaces yet discovered has been the occasion of many ingenious and some curious conjectures. M. Botta says, that when he first discovered the Grand Hall at Khorsabad, he fancied himself in a tomb or crypt. The inner rooms communicate with each other only by the doorways; and the chambers next to the outer walls are not perforated, except at the portals. Mr. Layard has suggested that some of the rooms, especially if devoted to religious purposes, were artificially lighted; and the others, he conceives, may have received daylight through openings in the roof, which during winter may have been closed by canvass, or some such material. This explanation, however, supposes a roof; and hitherto no such covering has been found. M. Flandin, the artist who accompanied M. Botta in his labours at Khorsabad, who differed from his friend in considering the edifice a palace, vaulted all the rooms with unheard-of numbers of hypothetical bricks; and as the employment of sun-dried bricks was out of the question for roofing rooms 33 feet wide, he imagined that they were kiln-dried, and had disintegrated. Mr. Layard, in his larger work, has suggested that the greater part of the roof was taken off; but such a mode, by admitting the direct rays of the sun in summer, and torrents of rain in the winter season, would render the building uninhabitable.

The best theory which has yet been proposed to meet this difficulty is that of Mr. James Fergusson. He believes that the thick brick walls were carried up to the height of the slab at the back of the great bulls, or say 18 or 19 feet, which, with a low parapet, would make the part covered by slabs half the whole height. Above this, the top of the wall must have been paved with some substance capable of resisting the influence of the weather—kiln-burnt bricks or tiles, or still more probable, wood. According to this supposition, therefore, the upper half of the wall is gone, and its flooring with it. Now the walls as they remain are 16, 18, and even 21 feet wide; when floored or paved, their upper surface would then form a platform. On this Mr. Fergusson conceives that two rows of dwarf

pillars stood—one on the inner, one on the outer edge of the wall, rising to a convenient height, and supporting over each wall a flat terrace-roof of mud, plastered on the upper surface. But as no horizontal timber could carry such a roof over a space of 33 feet, he conceives that all the larger halls had two rows of pillars down their centres; the smaller ones, perhaps, one row; and the narrowest none at all.

This system appears to meet all the exigencies of the case. It admits a sufficiency of light into the apartments to enable the spectator to see the sculptures and paintings perfectly, and to read the inscriptions. At the same time it excludes the direct rays of the sun, an exclusion which would be compatible with an ample elevation of the roof above the walls, if the small inner parapet were slightly heightened. By the use of curtains, moreover, sunlight might be tempered to any extent. The rain, again, would be shut out, as the heaviest storm could not beat in at so great an angle. Another striking peculiarity of these palaces, viz. the enormous thickness of the walls, is thus at the same time accounted for.

In this view of the case, the palace had an upper story, not in the sense of one floor built over another, but still an upper story, as nearly as may be equal in extent to the floor or area of the apartments. The ground-floor thus arranged was composed of rooms of great height, perfectly lighted, and much better ventilated than our proudest edifices, while, from the immense thickness of the walls, they must have been warm in winter and cool in summer. From these galleries, probably, the king shewed himself to his subjects. An eastern monarch cannot walk on the same floor with the people; he must not come into contact with the *profanum vulgum*. The sculptures contain numerous representations of the king, covered with a canopy on occasions of state, and this raised platform and canopy supplies just the situation indicated. In the neighbourhood of Nineveh modern houses may be seen, in which light is admitted in a way similar to that suggested; traces of it, indeed, may be found wherever an eastern people is driven to construct with wood.

In which of these palaces Sardanapalus burnt himself with his wives and followers is not ascertained. All the palaces have been destroyed by fire: a fact for which there is no difficulty in accounting if we admit the mode of construction just explained, but very difficult to account for if there was no second story or gallery. With wooden pillars standing on the floor, supporting a wooden roof and galleries floored with wood, there are fifty ways of supposing their destruction. On the other hand, if there were only the solid walls as we see them, complete without the aid of timber, they could not

be burnt, even with a flat wooden roof. No one has yet discovered a burnt temple in Egypt or Greece.

But these temples or palaces are buried as well as burnt, and nevertheless they stand on mounds. A wooden roof stretching over them at the present height of the walls might have injured the sculptures on which it fell while in a state of combustion, but would have gone but a little way towards burying them. Sun-dried bricks might have been hardened by the heat, but certainly would not have fallen for some time. The sculptures would thus have been exposed to the violence of the elements and of man. But if we suppose a roof so solid as has been described, with its pillars and galleries, the falling materials and rubbish would have pretty nearly filled the rooms up to the height of the sculptures; successive rainy seasons would consolidate the mass, which would increase as the walls came down.

It was seen, at the commencement of the last chapter, how much the architecture of the Assyrians was influenced by the absence of natural elevations as sites of their monumental edifices. The scanty materials to which the choice of the Assyrian builder was limited had an equal share in determining the features of their constructive art. Had this people—so fertile in invention, so skilful in the arts, and so ambitious of great works—inhabited a country abounding in marble, like Persia, or costly stone and granite, like India or Egypt, they would no doubt have produced works as vast as the pyramids, and symmetrical as the rock palaces and temples. But the genius of Assyrian architecture was compelled to adopt the mud of the plains of the Tigris as the chief material of its great works. This soil, rich and tenacious, the builders moistened with water, and, adding a little chopped straw, to hold it more firmly together, formed into squares, which they baked in the sun. The intense heat in the summer completed this process by the second or third day. Of the ordinary dwellings of the Assyrians we have now no relic; rains, inundations, and time have disintegrated the materials, and restored them to their parent soil. But sun-dried bricks, although the principal, could not, for various reasons, be the only earthy material employed in the larger edifices of Assyriae. The earliest of these appear to have been of a monumental character, commemorating great events in the history of the nation; it was necessary, therefore, to use some substance on which figures and inscriptions could be carved. The Mesopotamian plains contained a coarse alabaster, or more properly, a carbonate of lime, in sufficient quantity for the purposes of ornamental architecture. It was easily worked, and in colour and aspect agreeable to the eye. The

walls of the temples having been constructed of sun-dried bricks, were panelled with slabs of this stone placed upright against them, and kept in their places by iron, copper, or wooden cramps or plugs. The corners of the chambers were generally formed of one stone; the slabs were not sculptured until after they had been fixed.

One of the opening passages in Layard's book refers to the striking difference between the ruins of Nineveh and those of other ancient cities. "The graceful column rising above the thick foliage of the myrtle, the ilex, and the oleander; the gradines of the amphitheatre covering the gentle slope, and overlooking the dark-blue waters of a lake-like bay; the richly-carved cornice or capital half hidden by the luxuriant herbage,—are replaced by the stern shapeless mound rising like a hill from the scorched plain, the fragments of pottery, and the stupendous mass of brickwork occasionally laid bare by the winter rains. He has left the land where nature is still lovely, where, in his mind's eye, he can rebuild the temple or the theatre, half doubting whether they would have made a more grateful impression upon the senses than the ruin before him. Those of whose works they are the remains, unlike the Roman and the Greek, have left no visible traces of their civilisation or of their arts: their influence has long since passed away. The more he conjectures, the more vague his results appear. The scene around is worthy of the ruin he is contemplating: desolation meets desolation; a feeling of awe succeed, to wonder; for there is nothing to relieve the mind, to lead to hopes or to tell of what has gone by. These huge mounds of Assyria made a deeper impression upon me, gave rise to more serious thought and more earnest reflection, than the temples of Balbec or the theatres of Ionia."¹ He could not be other than impressed by the very wide difference between architectural remains displaying columns and those which displayed none. Mr. Sydney Smirke read a paper on this subject at a meeting of the Institute of British Architects, the substance of which may be here given. There appears to have been an almost total absence of columns at Nineveh. Layard gives us a representation of one instance occurring in a bas-relief found in the ruins at Khorsabad, which he presumes to be of later date than those at Nimroud; and in the slabs in the British Museum one example occurs, wherein three pillars are introduced, but of proportions so slender as to lead to the presumption that they were of wood; a supposition the more probable, as they appear to support, not a horizontal entablature, but the framework of a kind of tent. It is worthy of remark, that these pillars have as their capital the horns of the goat

¹ *Nineveh and its Remains.* By A. H. Layard. Vol. i. pp. 6, 7.

so arranged as to suggest at once the Ionic capital; and the Khor-sabad example is also of this type. The absence of columns may possibly be due, in great measure, to the flat alluvial character of the district between the Tigris and the Euphrates, which furnished the soft alabaster of which these slabs are formed, but no hard building stone suitable for columnar architecture. Rooms, however, thirty-five feet and forty feet wide, such as occur in the palaces explored by Layard, would not have been roofed-over without a greater degree of constructive skill in carpentry than we have any reason to suppose was possessed in these early ages. Perhaps, therefore, the horizontal beams of which the roof was formed may have been supported by wooden pillars which are now perished, or which may have been burnt when these temples were sacked,—a fate which most of them have probably undergone. That pillars were used to support the roof timbers is the more probable, as it appears that the apartments were lighted from above by apertures in the roof, which would interrupt the continuity of the timbers, and render intermediate supports absolutely necessary. It may be asked, why assume that the Assyrians were ignorant of framed trusses, by which the widest spans might be roofed-over without the assistance of intermediate supports? We cannot prove the non-existence of trusses, but we certainly have no evidence that such artificial contrivances are of this remote date. We see no indication whatever of pitched roofs in any of the sculptures before us. Even in the Lycian examples we do not find, until we come down to the Greek period of art, any example of a pediment, which is but the gable end of a pitched roof. These Assyrian palaces, then, had, it is presumed, flat terraced roofs, as we know the Egyptian buildings had; it is the present fashion of the East, and that it has ever been so there is abundant proof in the Scriptures. It was a law of the Jews that no roof should be built without a parapet, so that those walking thereon might be rendered safe. In the sculpture before us are various representations of small domestic buildings; they have no sloping roofs, but are rounded at top, as if formed of slight timbers bent round, which were probably wattled over and covered with mud, like the wigwags of the present day.

The occurrence of circular-headed openings in the fortified buildings of Assyria, as plainly represented on these bas-reliefs, dissipates at once all ideas, formerly pretty generally entertained, of the comparatively recent discovery of this principle of construction. Layard mentions a brick vaulted chamber which he brought to light among the ruins at Nimroud, and other similar discoveries are reported to have been still more recently made by him. It seems a reasonable

conjecture that the arch may have been first used in an alluvial country like that part of Assyria, where abundance of bricks were made, and where the difficulty of transporting from remote distances large blocks of stone, fit to form a straight lintel over a wide bearing, would render the substitution of an arch turned with bricks or small stones peculiarly convenient.

We may notice that tubular drain-tiles were used in removing the rain-water that fell through the openings in the roofs on to the pavements of the several apartments. That so obvious and simple a contrivance should have been resorted to by a people possessing great dexterity in the fabrication of fictile ware, and living in a district where the common soil of the country furnished the materials to their hand, seems so natural as scarcely to justify more than a passing remark; yet, is it not curious, that now, in the nineteenth century, and in England, a tubular draining tile is one of the most recent of novelties?

A thin stratum of bitumen is mentioned by Layard as occurring under all the floors, and passing, as he observed, under these sculptured slabs of alabaster with which the inner face of the walls was lined. He was unable to account for this; but the architect will at once perceive that this was a precaution taken to prevent the damp from arising from the earth under the pavement, and destroying the paintings, and endangering eventually the alabaster itself.

Reverting, again, to the representations of Assyrian castles on the slabs referred to, it must not be passed unnoted, that the crenelated parapets have battlements generally pointed or notched, as if to facilitate the use of the bow and arrow. Here also we find an analogous case in the friezes of the Lycian temple, discovered by Sir Charles Fellows, and now deposited in our Museum. Castles are there represented with embattled parapets very similar to these in Assyria, and not unlike examples still subsisting in the East.

It has long been a subject of speculation, what style of architecture characterised the first temple of Jerusalem. Mr. Smirke says, "I think that it may be not unreasonably presumed, that the magnificent ruins now brought to light, after an interment of two or three thousand years, afford us a far better clue than any we have ever yet possessed; a much more intimate connexion existed, both geographically and politically, between the inhabitants of Palestine and the people of Assyria and Babylonia, than with the Egyptians, from whom they were separated by the Arabian desert. Perhaps, too, the marbles under discussion will be admitted as evidence of an earlier civilisation of art among the former people, and therefore of their greater influence in matters of taste. We have indeed the evidence of

the Scriptures that Solomon sought his artists—his ‘cunning workmen’—in the region north of Judea; Hiram of Tyre was his worker in metals, and his best carpenters were Sidonians. With how deep an interest, then, these considerations seem to invest the sculptures from Nimroud! When, to use the eloquent words of Layard, we reflect that ‘before these wonderful forms, Ezekiel, Jonah, and others of the prophets stood, and Sennacherib bowed; that even the patriarch Abraham himself may possibly have looked upon them;’ that works of such extraordinary interest and value should, after the lapse of thousands of years, have found their place in our national repository, is indeed a matter of just pride and congratulation.”

On the subject of ornamentation, Mr. Smirke also offers some interesting remarks. “The love of ornament,” he says truly enough, “which distinguishes all Eastern nations at the present day seems to have equally prevailed among the ancient people of whom representations are now, for the first time, brought before us in these interesting remains. Very few female figures occur; but scarcely a male Assyrian figure is represented, whether priest or warrior, without large ear-rings, and most of them have necklaces, bracelets, and amulets. It is to be remarked, however, that not a single case occurs, amidst all this display of personal jewellery, of a finger-ring; the entire absence of this ornament in sculpture, wherein details of this nature are so elaborately and carefully attended to, leads to the conclusion that the finger-ring was an ornament then unknown.

“The apparel of the Assyrians appears by these sculptures to have been almost always richly fringed, with wide borders ornamented with figures of men, animals, and foliage. The caparison of their horses is most gorgeous; every strap of their head and body housings is enriched; to the chariot horses there is usually seen attached, apparently either to the extremity of the pole or to the trappings of the neck, and to the front of the chariot itself, a long fish-shaped piece of drapery, fringed and embroidered. Layard is at a loss to designate this object. Perhaps, ‘The precious clothes for chariots,’ alluded to by Ezekiel as being obtained by the people of Tyre from Dedan, may have reference to this singular piece of horse-furniture.

“The same love of ornament above alluded to is apparent in their pavilions, of which there are specimens in this sculpture; also in the fashion of their armour; the hilts, handles, and sheath-ends of the swords; their knife-handles, their slings, and their quivers. There are in the British Museum some lions’ feet of bronze, apparently belonging to furniture, which formed part of Layard’s collection at Nimroud, and are equal to Greek workmanship in execution.

"The style of art which characterises all these ornaments offers us," continues Mr. Smirke, "a subject of curious inquiry. What relation does it bear to other styles? To what extent is it original? And to what extent does it appear to have influenced other succeeding styles known to us? Major Rawlinson, who has fortunately succeeded in mastering to a great extent the difficulties that have hitherto hidden from us the knowledge handed down in the strange characters that cover these and other remains, entertains no doubt that the earlier ruins from whence these sculptures have been derived, bear the extraordinary date of twelve or thirteen centuries before the Christian era. This sculpture, therefore, is probably as old as most of the Egyptian antiquities we possess; yet the style of the ornaments, although certainly partaking somewhat of Egyptian character, is in many respects widely different from it. The borders of the linen wrought in successive stripes, and those stripes subdivided into a succession of squares, is certainly an Egyptian peculiarity, prevalent in this Assyrian costume. Indeed the people of the two countries, though widely separated from each other, may probably have interchanged commodities, and goods of so portable a kind as bales of linen may well have found their way from Egypt to Assyria. We have the incontestable and contemporary evidence of Ezekiel, that Egypt furnished 'fine linen with embroidered work' to the merchants of Tyre, who, it may be presumed, supplied the markets of Nineveh. There seems, therefore, no reason to be surprised at finding Egyptian patterns worked on the dresses of the personages so carefully represented on the walls of the Ninevite palaces, nor can any conclusion be safely drawn from that circumstance that there was any identity of design between the works of the artists of those two countries. It may, however, be here observed, that in the trappings of their horses there is a somewhat strong resemblance between these examples and those afforded by the Egyptian paintings in the British Museum.¹ The honeysuckle ornament so abundantly used in the sculpture before us is," says Mr. Smirke, "nowhere seen in early Egyptian work. Nor are there any traces of resemblance between Assyrian and Egyptian design in the beautifully and freely drawn figures of animals so profusely introduced into their work by Assyrian artists. We seek in vain here for those stiff and formal and very peculiar ornaments round the neck, consisting of a continued repetition of strokes of the pencil, which we see constantly recurring in Egyptian work, especially in the mummy-cases. The Assyrian

¹ An architect from Vienna informed Mr. Smirke that the caparisons of these Assyrian horses strongly remind him of those now used in the southern provinces of the Austrian empire, and the adjacent parts of Turkey.

artist seems to have completely relieved himself from the rigid conventional manner of the Egyptian, and to have acquired considerable facility and freedom of execution. Examine the slightly-etched figures of winged bulls and other animals pervading the dresses of almost all the larger figures on this sculpture, and we find them drawn, or rather sketched, in a style that would do credit to the best artists of the present day; and when we consider the enormous extent to which this mode of decorating the walls of their buildings prevailed, not only at Nineveh, but at other buried cities which have been recently explored in the same country, it seems fair to presume that these trifling and subordinate details now adverted to must have been the work of common and ordinary artisans.

“Let us now compare,” continues our artist, “the ornaments under review with the more familiar forms of Greek art: and here I think we find so strong an analogy, and in some cases such a striking resemblance, as to force upon us the conclusion, that the artists of Greece derived far more of their art from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates than from the banks of the Nile; and Egypt must, I think, relinquish a large portion of the honour that has been so long accorded to her, of having been the mother of Greek art. The honeysuckle ornament, already alluded to as occurring abundantly in this sculpture, is both in form and treatment almost purely Greek. The Guilloche scroll, so characteristic a Greek ornament, occurs, very accurately chased, on the scabbard of one of the swords of the Assyrian warriors. An ornament much resembling (although not identical with) the labyrinth fret also appears etched as an ornament on a dress. The classical enrichment commonly called the bead and reel is here of very common occurrence. The running ornament of animals and foliage grouped together, constantly occurring in this costume, is a perfectly classical feature.

“I purposely confine my observations to the style of *ornamentation* visible in these works, and forbear to enter into any similar comparison between Assyrian and Greek sculpture in its higher qualities, for such an inquiry properly falls rather within the province of the sculptor; but were I to do so, I apprehend we should arrive at the same result. It needs not the professional eye of a sculptor to see in the attitudes and drapery of the figures a regular and progressive, although perhaps a slow, development of art, from these marbles, through those of Asia Minor and Sicily, down to the works of Phidias. Whilst inviting attention to the germ and gradual growth of that beautiful system of decoration which has been handed down to us by the Greek artists, and has been the object of imitation during succeeding ages, not excluding even the mediæval ages, I am tempted

to suggest whether much of it, perhaps almost the whole of it, may not have had its origin in the use of sacred emblems or in the representation of sacred objects. The bull was deified in the earliest ages, and we see it carved in profuse variety as an ornament on these marbles. It occurs abundantly in the sculpture of Asia Minor, and in classic art became a favourite ornament. The lion also furnishes us with another very familiar instance of an animal deified by the Egyptians, and introduced by the artist in every variety of form as an ornament. The honeysuckle, which, under the wonderful influence of Greek taste, became so beautiful and so universal an ornament, is here found many centuries before the birth of Greek art as representing the sacred tree before which the Assyrian priest is performing his religious rites. The fir cone, which plays so prominent a part in classical decorative sculpture, is in these marbles almost always held as an offering in the hand of the priest. The lotus is another familiar instance. We find it first the object of worship in Egypt, but afterwards converted into one of the most beautiful of all the forms of antique ornament. The rosette, or patera, is perhaps one of the most universal ornaments in the whole range of art. It occurs in the paintings of the Egyptians, and is carved on Hindoo sculpture; it was embroidered on the garments of the Assyrians, and ornamented their armlets, bracelets, and even their whip-handles. Nor on the sculptured remains of Persepolis is it wanting. The rosette is painted on the fictile vases of all ages, from the earliest to the latest, and has ever been one of the most common of all the ornaments of architecture. May I not venture to claim for this form, also, a sacred origin? The winged circle was the emblem of the deity in Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia. It occurs frequently in the marbles before us, and is usually filled in with what has the appearance of a rosette; but when the circle is large, we find the inserted figure to have a star-like form, or a radiation of tapering flames: may this not be supposed to typify the sun, the great and earliest object of idolatry? Is it not at least a plausible hypothesis that this figure, whether it be a conventional representation of the sun or a star, may in the course of time have assumed in the hands of the artificer, the varied and beautiful ornament with which we are so familiar?"

In the temples we have thus visited, we find none of those architectural effects which depend on the size of the whole building or the massive solidity of its materials, which variously strike us in a Greek or Egyptian temple, or a Gothic cathedral. The size of such buildings as have hitherto been found is small, the material of which they are composed absolutely mean, and they never arrived at any expression of power and stability. As some compensation

for this deficiency, the high terraces, the massive and broad base on which the buildings stood, must have given to the whole an expression of power and solidity to which the architecture of the palace had no claim.

As to what are called æsthetic effects, depending upon beauty in the form of the whole and its parts, such as the pillars, the roof, the walls, and other essential members of the structure, it was neglected more in Assyria than in any country with whose arts we are acquainted. They compensated for this by the use of a greater amount of coloured decoration than is to be found elsewhere. The Greeks probably tinted their sculptures, but the Assyrians, we know, made out their ornaments and dresses as fully in colour as we do in our paintings; the walls, too, above the sculptures must, from the *debris* found on the floors, have been adorned with figures, either enamelled or painted in the richest colours on tiles, and thus would necessitate the painting of the roof and its supports for the sake of preserving harmony of effect. To us, who are accustomed to colourless stone architecture, this mode of building and decorating seems anomalous; but eastern architecture in all ages and countries has been more remarkable for its colours than its forms. We see this on the Indus, as well as in the Alhambra. This extensive employment of brilliant colouring enabled them to dispense to a great extent with form and shadow, and trusting to ornament to render that pleasing which had no pretensions to either beauty or design.

But greater than all was the influence of the great idea of these buildings, the effect of sculptured decoration. All here is animated; a plain slab, any common mechanical arrangement, is unknown. If a doorway is to be formed, a winged bull is chosen where we should employ a plain block of stone; instead of the tower or other ample form for the side of a gateway, double bulls are placed back to back, so as to hide the plain parts of the stone to which they are attached. All the returns and angles of the walls, which in other styles are masses of stone, or pilasters, or rustication, are here always some form of animated nature.

The art of the Assyrian builder thus belonged rather to sculpture than architecture. The idea of attaining structural effects through sculpture was perhaps the young world's first conception of art. It was an aspiration, since forgotten, to a perfect and glorious style of architecture. As such it failed; but looking on those noble works, the great winged bulls, grander in conception and bolder in execution than any similar achievement of the Greeks, the question arises, had the Assyrians but been better draughtsmen and a little more ideal, what sort of architecture might have been prevalent in England now?



WINGED DIVINITY.

CHAPTER IX.

SCULPTURES AND SCULPTURED DECORATIONS OF THE ASSYRIANS.

WHILST as we have seen the chief buildings of the Assyrians were very simple in their architecture, their ornamentation seems to have been rich in the extreme. At the palace of Khorsabad, for instance, the whole of the lower part of the walls, to a height of more than nine feet, was found to be covered with slabs of gypsum, on which either bas-reliefs had been sculptured, or cuneiform inscriptions cut. This kind of decoration was lavished to such a degree, that there was not found, in the whole extent of this outward casing, a space of three feet square, which did not bear sculptures or lines of characters.

It is in these long series of bas-reliefs that we are to seek for a knowledge of the acts, the customs, the manners, the costume, and appearance of the ancient Assyrians. In them the sculptor tells the story of the life of his countrymen—their battles, sieges, triumphs, exploits in the chase, and religious ceremonies.

Before beginning any description of these bas-reliefs, we should perhaps explain the manner in which they were found to be arranged. The slabs of marmoriform gypsum on which these Assyrian figures are sculptured, are, as may be remembered, above nine English feet in height, and from three to nine feet in breadth, varying according to the place they occupy, or the subjects and personages represented. These slabs, the vertical joints of which have evidently been basilled behind on purpose, were found very carefully placed next to each

other, and thus constituted a series of long surfaces, covering the whole extent of the façades and chambers, and interrupted only by the angles or the embrasures of the doors. Generally speaking, the subjects are not confined to the dimensions of the slabs, but are continued, without interruption, the whole length of the walls of a chamber or façade. We find figures cut vertically by the line of junction of two pieces of the casing, so that it may be presumed that they were sculptured after these pieces had been placed. In no case is the casing formed of two slabs put one above the other; it invariably consists, from top to bottom, of one sole block.

On the façades, the figures being of a colossal size, were found to take up the whole height of the casing, so that there was but one row of bas-reliefs. This, however, was not always the case in the interior of the buildings. In some chambers there were two zones of bas-reliefs placed one above the other, and separated by a band of cuneiform inscriptions. In every case there was a skirting of about four inches in height, at the bottom of the casing, while a similar kind of moulding ran along above the slabs. There was no frame at the vertical edges of these, unless the subject terminated, as at the openings for the doors; in a case like that, the slab was bounded with a slight ledge, which, like the skirting and the moulding above, project equally with the figures.

Although in these places where there were two zones surmounted by little bas-reliefs, the same subject is often uninterruptedly continued through several slabs, the band of inscriptions which runs the whole length of the chamber was divided near each joint by a vertical line, and it was evident that the lines of writing commenced and terminated the edges of each slab; in fact, it could not be otherwise, for if that were not the case, it would have been necessary, in order to read the inscriptions, to follow the lines from one extremity of the chamber to the other, a length sometimes of more than a hundred feet. This would have rendered their perusal impossible, and we can therefore understand why the text should be divided.

Such was found to be the general plan of the ornaments. Let us now examine some of them in detail.

Turning first, then, to the palace at Khorsabad to a façade formed by a central building and two wings, at right angles, we find one of these wings very short, the other extending much further, and nearly reaching the edifice supposed to have been a small temple. Both these wings are unfortunately in a very ruinous state; but it is possible to perceive, however, from the ensemble of the bas-reliefs which decorated the façade represented, both on the right and left, that a double procession of personages was represented, bringing presents to

the king, whose figure is sculptured on each side of the central door. This subject is also found at the grand staircase of the palace at Persepolis, and is one for which the ancient Assyrians seem to have had a great predilection, for it is often met with on the walls of their recently exhumed monuments.

The centre towards which all the figures are turned is this grand central door; and, consequently, they are walking on each side in a contrary direction. All are of gigantic stature, so that they take up the whole height of the gypsum coating. Although the subject, both on the right and on the left is the same, the details are different. On the right of the door, looking towards the monument, the suite of persons is much more considerable. The centre door has piers formed by human-headed bulls, looking towards the south-west.

In the recess formed on one side, by the jutting out of the pier of the wall, and on the other side, by the projecting of the fore part of the bulls, there were three small bas-reliefs in too dilapidated a state to be described. All that could be discovered was that, like those at the other doors, they represented personages either furnished with wings, or holding in their hands the symbolic flower, of which we shall have to speak by and by. The recess on each side was paved with a stone, on which a small bronze lion was fixed; the only one that remained was found at the feet of the bull on the right. Above this lion there was a stout bronze ring fixed in the wall: as the little statue had also a ring in its back, it is presumable that a chain formerly passed from one ring to the other, so as to represent a chained lion.

On each side of the anterior widening of the bay there were two symbolic figures—eagle-headed personages, such as were often found near the doors of Assyrian buildings; similar in character to those frequently engraved on Babylonian seals and cylinders, and about which we shall have more to say in the Chapter on Religion and Worship.

With the exception of the wings and head, the whole of the body of this figure, which is considered to represent Nisroch, one of the chief Assyrian divinities, is that of a human being. The right hand, which is raised and advanced forward, holds the fruit of a coniferous plant, which from its oval form appears more like a fir-tree than a cypress. The left hand, which hangs down, holds a basket or pannier having a handle; this pannier seems to have been cylindrical in shape, and had evidently been made of switches or platted fibres interwoven like basket-work.

Judging from the form of the beak, the head is that of a bird of prey; the upper mandible is very much curved downwards at its ex-

tremity, and near the fang is seen the characteristic teeth of this class of birds. The beak, from its length, appears to be rather that of a vulture or eagle than that of a falcon or hawk. The eye also is that of a bird, and the artist has not forgotten to mark the little circle of feathers which more or less surrounds this organ in the animal of which he was representing the head.

A series of upright feathers form a comb that extends from the beginning of the beak to the bottom of the neck; this comb diminishes in height as it goes back, and at its base there is a row of crockets or little valutes, intended, no doubt, to represent the curling of down or hair, as will be seen by other examples. This bird's head is, besides, furnished with hair formed of separate bands, terminated by a row of curls. Two similar rows also cross the bands horizontally, in order, doubtless, to indicate that there were several layers superposed.

One of the wings hangs down, the other is raised in the air: it is easy to distinguish the large feathers, the down, and the small feathers which clothe the tips of the wings.

The dress of this figure is very simple, appearing to consist of a tight tunic which reaches from the neck to just above the knees, while the narrow arms of the garment hardly extend to the fold of the elbow. The bottom of this kind of tunic, the opening through which the head passes, and the extremities of the sleeves, are ornamented with embroidery work representing rosettes, each surrounded by a square. A large girdle binds the loins. On comparing two of those figures, one of which presents its right and the other its left side to the spectator, it is apparent that this girdle or sash is composed, for a length of once round the body, of a simple band, ornamented on the edges with a narrow embroidery, but that it was continued by a network of the same breadth partly covering it. The cords of this net finally unite and form a band, which served, no doubt, to keep the whole together, but it is impossible to see how it was fixed. A large band appears to hang down from this girdle; it is, in the first instance, enriched with the same embroidery of rose-work which is seen upon the edges of the tunic, but when it appears below, between the legs, it divides into four cords, each of which is knotted near the end, and beyond the knot forms a small tuft. Such is the arrangement visible upon the bas-relief which shows the right side of the figure; but on the bas-relief which shows the left side the arrangement is slightly varied, inasmuch as the portion of this band which is ornamented with rose-work is furnished, with a fringe hanging down behind, whereas on the right side the fringe hangs down in front.

Besides these garments, these symbolical figures wear some remarkable ornaments. Around the neck is a necklace composed of round beads, which are alternately large and small. This necklace is terminated by a bead larger than all the rest, and having on its surface a small flower, rather like a fleur-de-lis. The whole appearance of the ball that thus terminates the necklace reminds you somewhat of a pomegranate with the divisions of the calyx reversed. The wrists bear magnificent bracelets, formed of a triple ring, which is enriched inside and outside the wrist with a double rosette. Other bracelets clasp the arm near the elbow-joint; they consist of a spiral going twice completely round the arm. They seem to have been composed of metal wires, not twisted together, but simply placed in juxtaposition, and bound at intervals by other wires which surround them.

It has been doubted whether the tunic and girdle composed all the dress, or whether all that is visible below the girdle is superposed on the tunic; that it is, in fact, a piece of cloth thrown around the loins, and thus kept up by the girdle, and that the sort of fringed band which hangs down between the legs is but the border of the extremities of this piece of cloth. It is known that this fashion of covering the middle of the body was in use among the ancient Egyptians, and that it is still practised in many parts of the East, as Arabia and Upper Egypt.

A peculiar class of figures, the character of which is invested with much uncertainty, is frequently met with on the bas-reliefs at Khor-sabad and Nimroud. One of these seems to be a magician, or priest, holding a symbolic flower in his left hand, which hangs down, and carrying a she-goat or wild he-goat on his left arm. The costume of this figure is composed of the robe scooped out in front, under which appears the end of the tunic. The head, of which the hair and beard repeat the type which so frequently occurs, is bound with a band of flattened rings. These are joined by the longer sides, and gradually diminish in size from the forehead to the occiput. In the middle of the forehead is a large rosette, another on the ear, and a third behind the head at the point where the knot of the band appears to be; this latter is terminated by a tuft. The ear-rings are similar to those of the personages strangling lions. The symbolic flower in this bas-relief is very distinct and partly developed. The stem is divided into three peduncles, the two lateral ones bearing buds, and the centre one a full-blown flower. This flower appears to have a monophyllous calyx, at the base of which are several scales reversed. The corolla is divided into numerous lanceolated and diverging petals. The buds are oval and pointed, and seem at first

sight to differ from those we have seen elsewhere: in some the buds being round; but the difference arises, perhaps, from the different stages of development. On the bas-relief we are now describing, the bud is on the point of blossoming; the corolla has already come out of the calyx, and it is the united petals which form the elongated and pointed mass, while in the other instances the corolla, which is in a less advanced state, remains completely shut up in the calyx.

The animal which the figure holds looks like a wild he-goat or ibex. This supposition is at least allowable, to judge from the more slender and wilder outline, as it were, of the body, and from the size and form of the horns. The wild he-goat is very common in the mountains which bound Mesopotamia, and the curve of the horns usual in these parts tallies exactly with those of the animal in our bas-relief. Lastly, the upright position of the ears, the form of the hoofs, and likewise of the tail, prove beyond a doubt that it was not a she-goat which the sculptor wished to represent.

Traces of colour were still very apparent upon this bas-relief. As is every where the case, the hair, beard, eyebrows, the circuit and the pupils of the eyes of the figure, were black; the same is true of the hoofs and tail of the he-goat. The diadem red, the stem of the flower red, as even also the edges of the calyx and of the petals of the corolla, the rest of which, and of the calyx, is blue.

The winged bulls with human heads, forming the piers of doorways, are amongst the most remarkable of Assyrian antiquities. The body of this symbolical figure is that of a bull walking. The tail, which is very long, is terminated by a tuft of hair, which seems twisted into parallel rolls broken by horizontal rows of curls. Lines of rolls arranged in the same manner fall down the back to represent the hair of the chine; patches formed of numerous regular series of curls cover the hind-part of the thighs and the flanks. Lastly, the hair of the dewlap is represented by the same method; that is, by a broad band of horizontal rows of curls.

Up to this, every thing tends to prove, if not a faithful reproduction, at least an exact observation of Nature; but all the remainder is fantastic. Open wings spring from the shoulders and stretch back above the back beyond the hind-quarters of the bull; the result is, that the shoulders of the animal are covered with feathers, as is likewise his breast on both sides of the dew-lap. The large feathers of the wings are not rounded off and curbed at the top like those of similar bulls discovered at Persepolis, but stretch almost horizontally in a double row, and end in an obtuse point.

Except the ears, which are those of a bull, the head is completely human. The hair and the beard are treated in the same fashion as in the bas-reliefs; the former falls in a mass of curls upon the shoul-

ders, and the latter hangs down upon the breast. On this human head is a kind of tiara nearly cylindrical, and covered with rosettes, which form a very distinct band round the top. This tiara is terminated by a crown of palms or feathers, and girt at the base by a double pair of horns which surround it; the points of these horns curve round, and end midway in front of the tiara. The ears are directed forwards, and lie close against the tiara. They have spindle-shaped ear-rings richly chased.

It must be remarked that to some of these bulls in bas-relief found upon the walls, and presenting their breasts outwards, the sculptor has given five legs, so that they might appear complete from whatever point they were viewed. When the spectator looks at them full in the face, he sees the breast supported by the two fore-legs placed parallel to each other; and when he is in the bay, he sees the animal walking upon four legs.

Such are the bulls which covered the bays of the great doorways; the arrangement of them is the same every where, and there is no difference between them, save in the size and number of the pairs of horns which bound the tiara; sometimes there are two, sometimes three of these. The bulls fixed upon the exterior, and on the sides of some of the doors, are similar to those of the piers; the only distinction is, that their head is turned at right-angles, so as to look outwards instead of in the direction of the wall on which they are fixed.

In the palace of Nimroud these bulls were occasionally replaced by winged lions with human heads, similar to those of the bulls, except that the horns were omitted. As many as six of these human-headed monsters often graced one doorway. Two of them formed the pillars, and two others were placed on the anterior front of each of the lateral piers. These exterior bulls were sometimes separated by an immense figure of a man strangling a lion. A few peculiarities often attached to this figure.

The attitude is exactly the same, but the hair is arranged in a different manner: six locks or flat rolls cover the forehead; the rest, instead of being gathered up into a thick *chignon* falling down the shoulders, appears to be divided into enormous rolls or ropes, terminated by thick curls, which border the cheek or fall on the shoulder. The beard is dressed in the usual manner; that is, it is curled in straight rows on the cheeks, and descends on the breast in a mass of tight parallel rolls, which are crossed by rows of frizzled curls.

The costume also differs occasionally; it appears to be a simple short-sleeved tunic, ending above the knees, and encompassed by a girdle at the waist; it is slit open from the girdle to the bottom, and through the slit appears a band, formed by four parallel cords, tied together two and two, at their lower extremity, and terminating

each by a tassel. The bracelets of the elbows are spiral; those of the wrists are richer. They consist of a ring with a large rosette on the outside of the arm, and are clasped in the inside by another rosette that two animals' heads appear to be biting. This bas-relief is now in the Louvre.

Speaking of the façade where these figures appeared, it is evident, says Botta, on what principle they had been arranged. Every where, save in the recesses produced by the projection of the bulls, and the piers of the door-ways, the figures were larger than life, and we meet with but one exception to this rule. Near the door-ways the decoration is in every case symbolical; it is always composed of human-headed bulls and winged personages; sometimes bird-headed, and carrying various emblems. On the rest of the walls are most frequently scenes from the life of the sovereign who built the monument: he himself is often represented; and almost always long processions of personages, more or less varied, direct their steps towards him, to bring either presents, tributes, or souvenirs of his victories. In the chambers we, it is true, sometimes meet with the same style of decoration; but in general the sculptures there possess less solemnity, and have less connexion with public ceremonies and beliefs, than with scenes of the political and private life of the sovereign.

A winged figure, apparently belonging to the religious group, is seen in some cases waiting, as it were, upon the monarch. The king, in his right hand, holds a patera, resting on the thumb and finger tips, and on a level with his nose. In the left he grasps the tip of his strung bow, which rests on the other tip perfectly upright, and as high as his shoulder. Before the king stands an eunuch, lifting and waving a fan over the cup towards the king's face with his right hand, while his left holds a fringed band, or napkin, which passes over his left shoulder. Another eunuch follows the king with an unstrung bow on his left shoulder, a quiver slung on the same side, and a sword girded on the flank. His hands are very mysteriously occupied. Between the thumb and forefinger of the right, which are held as high as his neck, hangs a staff, the top of which has a knob like a star, and is on a level with his eye, and the bottom, which reaches to the mid thigh, has an odd-looking noose attached to it. The left hand is immediately under the right, and has the fingers closed; the fingers of the right being extended instead of closed, as one would expect, to grasp the staff. This position of the hands is a mark of respect to the king; the staff, perhaps, is the symbol of reward and punishment. This constitutes a complete group amongst those found at

Nimroud; and consists of two slabs—the king and front eunuch occupying one, and the hind eunuch another. The eunuchs are dressed like the king, in tunics, and petticoats, and girdles; but they have no mantle, and their heads are bare. They have a frizzled roll of hair, and a tail like the king's; wear, like him, necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets and armlets, and, of course, sandals. The next slab to the right represents a winged figure facing the right, and presenting with his right hand the point of a pine-apple to the back of the king's head, who stands before him, holding the bow as before in his left hand, but with two arrows lifted in his right, which is on a level with his beard, and has the fingers extended. The winged figure is dressed like the king, with these exceptions: his cap is round, and has two horns, one over the other, beginning at the ear, extending along the border of the cap to the temple, and then curling up, and terminating in cusps in front. The winged figure has a kilt reaching to the knee, and a third dagger in his girdle. He has no band hanging down behind. In his left hand he carries a reed basket.

Other figures we see with four wings, and the usual attributes the fir-cone and the basket. These Mythological personages indicated the existence of a doorway, near where they were found standing. A door was accordingly discovered near where the figure we have just spoken of was fixed: two human-headed bulls formed the piers. A figure with four wings, and the fir-cone and basket, served as a companion on the other side of the door. Near this procession of figures, was found the most magnificent doorway of all in the Palace of Khorsabad. It had for piers two large human-headed bulls more than fifteen feet high. The exterior side of each of the piers of this gate, which extended on each side beyond the bay, was covered with two bulls, whose bodies were in profile, but whose heads were turned to the spectator. The bulls of each pair were turned in an opposite direction, so that their breasts formed the angles of the piers, but their wings and tails did not touch each other (as was the case at another door-way), but they were separated by large symbolical bas-reliefs, representing personages strangling lions. These two figures, which stand out in much bolder relief than any of the others, and are, in some parts, actually in high relief, resemble each other exactly, it will therefore be quite sufficient to describe merely one. In this we see a man strangling a lion; the head is bare, the hair is flattened down at the top of the head, and ornamented in front with large curls converging forward, while behind, it is terminated, as usual, by a thick *chignon* of regularly formed curls, which fall down upon the shoulders. The beard is arranged in a similar man-

ner to that of the king, that is to say, it is disposed in regularly formed curls on the cheeks and chin, and falls down on the breast in a mass of parallel rolls, divided and terminated by horizontal rows of curls. The principal garment seems to be the robe scooped out in front, which is worn by other figures generally symbolic: its sleeves are short, and that of the right side only is bordered with a row of rosettes. It is easy to see, on this bas-relief, that the hollowing runs under the scarf, and is continued above it. The scarf itself is bordered with a double row of rosettes, intermixed with concentric squares, and passes over the right shoulder; it is also furnished with long fringes, which fall over the hips. The sides of the hollowing and the lower edges of this long robe are ornamented with fringe, and a hem, formed by a double cording, terminated below by a knot and tassels, runs along the two anterior edges. Underneath the robe is seen a portion of another garment, which might be taken for the bottom of a tunic coming down to the knees only; but it appears evident that it is only a piece of cloth wrapped round the loins, and bordered with rosettes and fringe. Besides the fringed bottom of this cloth, another line of fringe and rosettes is seen, extending obliquely across the stomach; this can only be explained by the supposition of a piece of cloth, as just mentioned, wrapped round the loins, and one of the upper corners of which is attached to the girdle. A like arrangement would produce, at least, an effect exactly similar: this is one of the reasons which induce a belief that the lower parts of the garment perceived are distinct from the tunic, or shirt, and really belong to a piece of cloth thrown over the loins in the fashion of the ancient Egyptians, and of the Arabs of the present day; this will shortly appear still more evident. The figure we are describing has rather plain ear-drops. To the ring is attached a drop encased with various ornaments. The bracelets of the elbows are spirals, the extremities of which are furnished with palm-leaves, composed of rounded radii; those of the wrists are plain open rings, the ends of which do not join, and have the same ornaments as the first. On the feet are sandals with elevated quarters, and kept on by thongs passing over the instep.

The left arm of the figure is passed over the neck and breast of a lion, which it holds by one paw, and seems to squeeze rigorously. The right hand holds an instrument, the handle of which is terminated by a calf's head, and which is doubly curved, somewhat in the fashion of an S stretched out a little. As this instrument is flattened and made thin at the edges it is probably a weapon.

The lion's body seems to be crushed by the force with which the arm encircles it; the claws are contracted, and those of the hind-legs

seem to claw hold of the dress; the expression of the head agrees with the pain felt by the animal. The mane, like that of the lions found in Mesopotamia, is short, and appears to be represented in a conventional manner, by two rings of locks of hair round the head, and by rows of imbricated lozenges on the shoulders. This, by the way, is the manner in which the ancient Assyrians were in the habit of representing the hair of animals. It is visible under the belly, and behind the thighs of the lion, and we shall meet with other examples of it.

Could these figures, found thus in a range illustrative of the king and his court, be intended to delineate the exploits of gladiators attached to the regal abode?

From what remains we may judge of the effect which must have been produced by these long processions of colossal figures; by these immense human-headed bulls, which were fixed at the principal doorways, and by the large statues strangling the lions. Vast in conception, these sculptures are marvellous in execution, and give a wonderful idea of the ancient people, by whom, in the infancy of the world, they were perfected.

In the course of the excavations a slab was found in this long series, illustrative of the Assyrian monarch and his court, on which there had evidently been a figure with four wings; but the bas-relief had been effaced with a hammer, evidently on purpose. This mutilation certainly dated from the time when the Palace of Nineveh was fired and destroyed. With what view it is of course impossible to say, but it was scarcely with that of destroying a religious emblem, since many similar figures had been left intact. The man who levelled those blows of destruction little thought that his sin against Art would be recognised and denounced, more than two thousand years after he had ceased to be; and that, at a lapse of so vast a period, this ancient city would be exhumed by the industry and scientific zeal of a northern people, whose curiosity to investigate the ruins of Nineveh was only equalled by their veneration for what was discovered amongst them.





CHAPTER X.

THE WARRIORS OF ASSYRIA ; THEIR BATTLES, SIEGES, AND TRIUMPHS.

AMONG the scenes represented in the bas-reliefs found at Nimroud and Khorsabad, none more frequently recur, or are more curious and interesting, than those which illustrate the appearance of the soldiers, and shew the modes of warfare of the ancient Assyrians. A very complete series of these sculptured decorations, representing the triumphs of the Assyrian armies in numerous battles and sieges, and the subsequent feasting with which they appear to have celebrated their victories, were discovered ranged along one side of the palace of Khorsabad. From a careful examination of these bas-reliefs, and those described in the chapter upon the Assyrian relics in the British Museum, much insight will be gained with reference to the extent of military strategy in vogue among the most warlike nation of antiquity. Of this present series, the first bas-relief which we shall select is a picture of the attack of a fortress. This stronghold is formed of two towers surmounted by triangular battlements, on each of which is seen a man: one of them is holding up his arm to heaven in despair, while the other is hurling a javelin with one hand, and with the other covers himself with his shield. Two warriors, much larger than the fortress, are kneeling before the towers; one is aiming an arrow at the besieged, the other is protecting his companion by holding a square shield over his head: they are both dressed in a fringed tunic, which reaches beneath the coat of mail that covers their breasts: their heads are protected by pointed helmets. We shall again meet with these costumes on better-preserved bas-reliefs, and we will describe them in detail by and by. Behind the kneeling warriors are two others standing, one

of whom is also aiming an arrow at the fortress; he is protected by a large shield that his companion is holding before him. The other has a long robe fringed at the bottom, and his breast is covered with a coat of mail.

On a neighbouring slab we see two kneeling warriors, turned towards another fortress: they are in the same attitude as the preceding ones; but the shield, with which one of them is attempting to protect the other, is not square but round, and is ornamented with several circular bands of various designs. Before them there must have been a fortress, of which the base only is given: this base is apparently placed on a hill, at the foot of which there is a little soldier kneeling down, and who appears to be letting fly an arrow.

Near the war scenes we have a bas-relief which evidently represents a group of prisoners under the guard of an individual dressed in a tunic, and having in his right hand a long stick, with which he seems to be pushing those who walk before him. The first three figures are women; they are attired in long tunics with short sleeves. The first has a little bag in her hand, the second is leading a naked child by the arm, and the third is carrying a long bag or leathorn bottle on her shoulders. Another man is seen, dressed in a long tunic fastened by a girdle; his back is covered with lozenges or imbricated scales, which were at first taken for feathers. Other bas-reliefs, in a better state of preservation, shew, however, that this was the manner in which ancient Assyrian sculptors represented the hair of animals, as did also the Persians at Persepolis. It is therefore the skin of some animal that covers the back of this personage, who has on small boots reaching to the calves and open in front, where they are laced by transverse cords. The figures walking before him are simply clad in tunics descending to the knees.

Scenes of active war come next. The king is seen in a car drawn by two horses, and followed by a horseman. This bas-relief was the first that Botta found in a tolerable state of preservation, and was the one which inspired him with a presentiment of the importance of the monument he had been fortunate enough to discover. Three individuals are standing in the car. First is seen the king, who, despite the corroded state of the surface of the slab, appears to have had on his ordinary costume, the tiara and fringed mantle; one of his hands being raised, while the other holds the bow. Behind him is a beardless servant, probably a eunuch, who holds a parasol over the monarch's head. Beside him is the driver, whose arms, stretched out, grasp the reins and the whip.

The car is square, and the pole which springs from beneath is fastened by a rod from the upper part. The wheels have thick

fellies and thin spokes. The trappings of the horses in the original appeared very rich, because the colours were sufficiently well preserved to be reproduced; there is a plume on the head of each horse, and an immense tassel suspended under the jaw to a strap passing behind the ears; a large band formed by three rows of fringe covers the breast, and from the extremity of the yoke hangs an ornament, also composed of three rows of fringe, which falls over the flanks; the reins, which are at first single, afterwards separate into three thongs, two of which are in the hands of the driver, while the third is attached to the front of the car, no doubt for safety, in case the others should fall from the driver's hands. It is not easy to see on this bas-relief how the yoke was placed on the horse; but this will be more evident on other bas-reliefs of the same chamber: all that can be distinguished on the present one is a band passing under the horses' necks, by the aid of which the car must have been drawn. Finally, it must be remarked, that though there are but two horses, three plumes are represented: the one in the middle was, without doubt, placed on the end of the pole, where we shall presently see ornaments still more remarkable.

The horseman who is following the car is, as far as can be judged, dressed in a tunic: his quiver is visible, and he holds in his right hand the bridle and a lance. The horse he rides is harnessed like the others; however, the ornament on his head is not a plume, but a sort of horn bent in the front. The colours of this bas-relief, as just stated, were still very apparent. The king's tiara was red, as well as the wood of his bow; the driver's whip, the reins, and the various straps of the harness, were of the same colour. The tassels on the breast and flanks were alternately red and blue. The band covering the forehead of the cavalier's horse was stippled with red and blue, as was also the head-ornament.

All that could be distinguished on a slab adjacent to the one just described were some figures, one of whom, a eunuch, clad in the ordinary costume, is apparently writing with a stilus on a long band which he holds with the other hand. This, at least, was what was perfectly visible when the bas-relief was dug up, a considerable time before any artist could sketch it. It is probable that this eunuch was noting down the number of heads which are seen cut off and piled up before him.

Near to this is a warlike scene, extending over six slabs. Archers are engaged in the attack upon a fortress. One, who is kneeling and letting fly an arrow, wears a beard dressed in the Assyrian fashion, and of great length: he is clad in a short-sleeved tunic fringe at bottom, and his sword is hung on a baldric passing over

the right shoulder. Above his head is seen a shield, which appears to be carried by a warrior placed before him. Next comes a eunuch in a long robe, with his breast covered with a coat of mail; and then a soldier who holds straight before the eunuch a long shield or kind of fascine.

The fortress appears to be surrounded by a ditch or a river, the water being represented by undulated lines, broken now and then by spirals. The lower wall, which is embattled, supports another, also embattled, and likewise fortified with square towers. This wall seems to surround a hill, on the slope and summit of which are built a few isolated houses or edifices; on the tops of these latter, tongue-shaped flakes, painted red, seem to be intended for flames. The towers are pierced with square windows; the doors, on the contrary, are evidently arched: this is a fact worthy of attention. A short inscription engraved upon the top of the hill, which is surrounded by the wall, is certainly the name of the besieged place.

Of the personages composing the picture, some represent the besiegers, and others the vanquished. The latter are seen in various situations raising their arms to heaven. One of them, transfixed with an arrow, is falling from the summit of the fortress; and below, around the walls, there is a row of poor wretches stripped of their clothes, and empaled through the neck on stakes driven into the ground.



The besiegers, many of whom, as is likewise the case in Egyptian bas-reliefs, are represented as of much greater stature than their adversaries, mount by means of ladders to the top of the walls, where some have already arrived. To the left, are seen three of them ascending one after the other. In their right hand they hold a lance, and in their left a large round shield, with which they protect them-

selves, and which appears covered with regularly-disposed plates. They also wear a sword suspended to a belt, crossed on the breast by another, so as to resemble exactly the belts of modern soldiers. These warriors are dressed in tunics coming down to the knees, and fastened round the waist by a girdle; they wear helmets, the crests of which are in the form of a horn bent forward, and very like the ornament seen on the horses' heads. By the means of other ladders placed on each side of the towers, smaller soldiers, dressed and armed in the same manner, are mounting to the assault by a different way.

The king, in a chariot drawn by two horses, is going towards the fortress; and so also is a warrior, in a car. The principal personage is bare-headed, and has his hair dressed in the Assyrian style. He wears a tunic, bordered with rosettes round the neck and opening at the sleeves; his bow is stretched, in order to let fly an arrow at some horsemen who are before him. By his side is the charioteer, holding triple reins in each hand. The harness of the horses, which are galloping, is exactly similar to what we have already seen.

The car itself is, like the others, square, and borne on wheels having eight spokes; it also offers a few remarkable peculiarities. At the top of the rod, which appears to be fixed on the right side of the body of the car, there is a disk, on which are several emblems, and which was no doubt intended to serve as a standard. At the bottom and in the interior of this disk there are two lions' heads, joined by their occiputs; a horizontal wing projects from the mouth of each. From the line of junction of these two heads springs a ring, the upper part of which confounds itself with a tress composed of four cords, which, united in the middle, afterwards rise, at the same time diverging from one another to the summit of the disk. It appears that the ring and wings form a similar emblem to that so often reproduced at Persepolis, and on Babylonian cylinders, above the heads of the principal personages, and which have been explained in such different ways. Below the diverging cords, and walking upon the horizontal wings, are two bulls, with nothing fantastic in their shape. Lastly, between these two cords, and extending by a whole head beyond the circumference of the disk, is a personage clad in the scooped-out robe and the scarf. On his head he wears a tiara surmounted by a fleur-de-lis, and furnished by a triple pair of horns. This personage is bending a bow, and seems to be shooting an arrow in the same direction as that of the car.

The top of the rod which supports the disk is ornamented with a double upper jaw of some fantastic animal; the teeth appear to be those of some carnivorous beast, but one who has a horn in the middle of its forehead. Underneath these two jaws are two rings, to one

of which is a cord or plait, which is fixed below another ornament or standard. This latter appears to be fastened on the pole between the two horses.

This last ornament is shaped very like the steel of a hatchet, with its edge upwards and its point turned downwards. On it is a symbolical personage, with some animal's, probably a bird's, head: it is, however, different from all that has yet been described, as it has no wings. It is, besides, dressed in a different manner, wearing the scarf and the scooped-out robe. It appears to be running in the same direction as the car, holding in each hand—the right stretched out before him and the left raised behind him—some object, the form of which, with the exception of the ring, which is wanting, is that of a cross with a handle. Two jaws of some animals, with one horn in the middle of their forehead, are placed at the point where this reversed hatchet joins on the rod.

Two horsemen are seen riding, or rather flying, before the car. They belong evidently to some different nation, for they appear clad in a simple tunic, over which they wear, on the back, the skin of some animal, as is shewn by regular lozenges. Besides this, the horses have no kind of ornament, and their riders appear to have no saddles.

With but few variations, we see the same scene reproduced again and again. The whole, without doubt, is meant to represent a battle fought under the walls, before the taking of the fortress.

In a similar scene to the preceding, the king is in the car; the driver is also there, as well as two warriors, having their heads covered with pointed casques, and carrying bucklers. Before the horses of the car, which are galloping towards the fortress, is a horseman, covered with some animal's skin, and falling backwards. On the background of the bas-relief, under the horses' bodies as well as over their heads, are the wounded and dead in various attitudes. Their position in the picture is doubtless due to the sculptor's intention of representing the ground strewn with the dead. Not being able to do so agreeably to the laws of perspective, he preferred placing them in impossible positions to not having them appear at all.

In another group, the horseman flying before the car is in a different attitude. He is turned round to menace with his lance those who are pursuing him. His horse has a few ornaments, especially a sort of horn, curved forwards, on the head.

Again, we have the same scene, with the exception of a few details. The king, or personage with a tiara, has no scarf; he has merely a tunic, and his sword appears to be suspended to a belt

made of several rows of globules or pearls. The soldiers' shields, placed beside him in the car, are the only things that can be distinguished. One of these shields has a large rosette in the middle; the other is ornamented with a circle of rosettes, beyond which there is another composed of flowers and buds, connected by segments of circles. On the other side of the car there appear to be two quivers, one of which is perpendicular, along the anterior edge, and the other, which is oblique, is maintained by a wide band, loaded with various ornaments. The vanquished, as in the preceding bas-reliefs, wear animals' skins on their shoulders: one, who is under the horses, is lying on his back; another, in the air, is pierced with an arrow. The horseman who is flying before the car is trying to extract a javelin that has entered his back.

Close by, archers are seen standing, and aiming arrows at a fortress. One of them is bearded; the other is a eunuch. Both are dressed alike. They have a long robe fringed at the bottom, while their breast is covered with a coat of mail formed of long horizontal rows of plates united by a tissue. At their side are other soldiers, who protect them with rather a long shield, which they hold upright, resting the lower extremity on the ground.

Now let us turn to the town against which the attack is directed. It is built upon a hill, on which is marked a road conducting to the principal gate. There is, first, one bounding-wall, which is battlemented; and, next, another, which is fortified with towers, above whose summit appear two or three flat-roofed houses. A few of the besieged still defend themselves with their lances, and cover their bodies with square shields: the surface of these is reticulated, most probably to represent metallic plates. Others of the besieged, placed upon the lower walls, appear already to despair of the defence. The costume of these individuals appears to consist merely of a simple tunic, scooped out between the clavicles. Their hair is arranged almost in the same manner as that of the Assyrians, but it is simply girt with a red band; it is also shorter, and does not fall upon the shoulders: the beard is short and curled. A few corpses are stretched on the flanks of the hill on which the place is built.

Among the besiegers there are two archers whose costume is new to us. All the upper portion of their bodies, as well as their legs, is bare, and they have only their waist covered with a piece of fringed cloth, which is very evidently wrapped round their body; this piece of cloth is held in its place by a large girdle; the sword is attached to a narrow baldric, passing over the right shoulder and traversing the breast, which is besides crossed by a cord, of which it is impossible to divine the use; the bow and the wood of the arrows are painted



red; the iron is painted blue. The beard of these two archers is shorter than that of the Assyrians, and simply curled; they no doubt represent auxiliary troops. Before them, on the contrary, is a kneeling warrior, who seems a true Assyrian, to judge, at least, by his hair and beard. He has a casque with a curved crest, and furnished with a flap which covers the ears. Other soldiers, represented smaller, are kneeling near the gates, and covering themselves with their shields, while they try to set the place on fire by means of torches; indeed the flames, which are painted red, are very plainly perceived beginning to consume the gates.

One portion of the adjoining slab completes the preceding scene, the other part appears to belong to the following tableau; in the one archers are seen advancing towards the fortress we have been speaking of, whilst in the other is a horseman turning his back on the place in question, and shaping his course towards another fortress, to which we shall shortly refer. Among the first personages there is one who, kneeling and letting fly an arrow, appears to belong to the same nation as the archers mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The upper part of his body is naked, and his hair and beard are cut short; his belt and the band round his neck are painted red; his quiver is blue; he is protected by a shield that a soldier holds over his head. The soldier has a pointed helmet; his tunic is short; and between his legs is seen the fringed appendage to a piece of cloth which is wrapped round his loins; his sword is suspended to a belt painted red; the bow hanging from his shoulder, and the javelin that he has in his hand, are of the same colour, while his quiver, on the contrary, is blue.

Behind these warriors stand two other personages. One is a eunuch, dressed in the usual robe, with his breast and stomach

covered with a coat of mail. His companion, who is bearded, also wears a pointed helmet, but has only a short tunic under his coat of mail. In one hand he holds two javelins, while with the other he maintains the shield upright on the ground before the eunuch.

Here finishes one warlike episode, only for another to begin.

The personage on the recent bas-relief whom we have not yet described is a horseman ascending a hill, which is continued on the following slab. His head-dress is Assyrian, and he appears to wear half-boots, above which the leg, as far as the bottom of the tunic, seems to be encased in tight-fitting chain-armour. The horse is caparisoned as usual, but it is plain that he had a saddle, or at least a shabrack similar to the ones used now-a-days. It may also be remarked that the horseman rides without stirrups.

The rest of the hill, the extremity only of which was visible on the right side of the preceding bas-relief, is seen on the adjoining one. This hill is strewed with the slain, some of whom have their heads cut off. The king, in his car drawn by two horses, advances towards the fortress, which is built on a mound isolated by a valley. It should be observed, that as the king in this bas-relief is not in action, he wears the fringed cloak, which is not the case when using his arms; and for this same reason he is now accompanied by the servant carrying the parasol. Besides these two circumstances, there is little worthy of remark on this bas-relief, of which nearly the whole details are to be met with on others. The tiara of the king is painted red, as well as the parasol, which is surmounted by an ornament similar to a fleur-de-lis, and which is so often seen.

The body of the car is ornamented with broken lines, which, by crossing one another, form squares, in the centre of which are smaller squares. The harness of the horse is the same as that already seen; the tufts of the plume, as well as the tassels of the breast and flanks, are alternately red and blue. This is also the case with the imbricated scales that cover the forehead. The extremity of the yoke is distinctly visible; it is curved like a hook or horn, to which is suspended the ornament that hangs upon the horse's belly. Another bas-relief shews an entire yoke with the ends curved, and displays how it was placed. Behind the car is a cavalier, and before it a warrior on foot, holding a large round buckler in his left hand, and in his right a lance or javelin. His casque is pointed. The breast of this personage, as may be seen, is painted red; but whether this is meant for the colour of the flesh or of the tunic, we are at a loss to say. However this may be, the fact should be noticed that there is no trace of colour below the girdle, which is another reason for believing that the lower portion of the garment does not belong

to the tunic, but that it is a cloth fringed or unravelled at the bottom, and wrapped round the loins, where it is made fast by the girdle. The king and the warriors with him are evidently going towards the fortress separated by the valley.

On the next slab is seen the continuation of the hill strewn with dead bodies, and the fortress surmounting it: the fortress has but one row of towers, on which the besieged are beheld in attitudes of despair; all of them wear an animal's skin on their back. Under a doorway, or in a niche, is a personage dressed exactly like the Assyrian kings: he wears the tiara and the chasuble-shaped mantle: it is difficult to explain why he should be placed in this situation. His position favours the idea that, having penetrated into the fortress, he is giving, from the doorway, the signal for discontinuing the combat which is taking place at the foot of the hill.



The rest of the bas-reliefs represent episodes of the battle. Two horsemen, with the pointed casque, are pursuing an individual dressed in an animal's skin, who, struck by a lance, is falling before them; the legs of the horseman are distinctly covered with chain-armour, and they are shod with half-boots laced in front.

Again we have the king in his car drawn by two horses galloping, and trampling under foot a man falling backwards. The latter belongs, no doubt, to the same nation as the besieged, for he is dressed in the same manner: he has on his back an animal's skin, as have also the two individuals who follow the car; one of them appears to be wounded, and supports himself by clinging with his arm round the body of his companion, who is looking back and trying to defend himself with his lance against the enemies who are pursuing him.

As the king is represented in the act of fighting, he is not ac-

accompanied by the eunuch carrying the parasol, neither does he wear the fringed cloak. The only personages with him are the driver and a soldier, who both wear a pointed helmet. The soldier appears to be carrying two shields, one to defend his sovereign before, and the other to protect him behind.

The combat still continues. Two Assyrian horsemen gallop and pursue, or trample under their horses' feet, individuals dressed in animals' skins. The ground, as in the preceding bas-reliefs, is strewn with corpses. The horsemen wear pointed helmets, short tunics, stockings formed of rings of mail, fastened by garters, and boots laced up in front.

We now come to a bas-relief found on the side of a doorway, and



which is very remarkable. The king is in a car, which is running over a warrior in a short tunic, who has an animal's skin upon his back. The ground is strewn with corpses. The car seems to be coming down from a mountain, on which is a kind of monument of a very singular appearance, the nature of which it is difficult to guess. The wall (if indeed it be a wall) does not seem to be perpendicular, but, to judge from the profile, hangs over very much on the outside; the summit is crowned by battlements like little pyramids formed of steps; the whole has a shape something like a corbel. From the upper edge of this edifice rise eight thick diverging rods, apparently cylindrical, and terminated by sheaves, painted red, and which, we may suppose, were intended to represent flames.

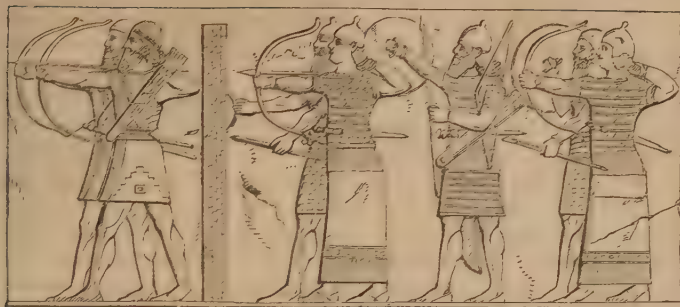
We find on other slabs a further series of warlike pictures—another series of combats. Two archers stand up wearing the pointed casque, and both having their chests covered with chain-armour; as usual, one is a eunuch discharging an arrow, and the other a bearded

personage. To protect the former, the latter is holding a large buckler as tall as a man, and resting upon the ground. We can see that this buckler was carried and kept upright by a handle. Behind the archers is a car, and in it one man, who must be the driver waiting for his masters, who have got out to fight. They are attacking a fortress built on the summit of a little hill. It has three tiers of towers, one above the other, and the first enclosure seems to stretch towards the right at the foot of the mountain. On the left also are seen two towers, likewise connected with the main body of the place by a wall. Lastly, at the foot and on the fore part of the hill are a few isolated houses; the windows are always square, but the doorways, on the contrary, are arched, and close by means of two flaps.

The most remarkable points in this representation of a town are the singular objects which crown the upper tier of towers; on three of them are stags' or does' horns very well drawn, and easily recognisable. To judge from comparing them with the height of the men beside them, these horns are much too large to be natural; but we must not rely on proportion, for in their representations the ancient sculptors increased the size of those objects to which they desired to call attention. It is, therefore, very possible that these were real horns thus placed upon the towers: but it is very difficult to explain for what purpose. Perhaps they were the national emblem of the people attacked in this town by the Assyrians. At the present day, no kind of stag or doe exists either in Mesopotamia or the mountains which surround it.

The besieged resemble, by their costume of animals' skins, those already seen. The greater part, despairing of being able to defend themselves, raise their hands to implore pity from their vanquishers; the others are still attempting to defend themselves with their lances, and are hiding themselves behind square shields. The besiegers are like those already met with several times; their helmets are surmounted with crests bent forward like a hook, and have flaps that cover their ears. Their tunics descend to the knee, and they have straps crossed on their breasts, with a large round plate where the straps pass over one another. Unlike the shields of the besieged, those of the Assyrian soldiers are round; some of them, already arrived at the summit of the hill, are trying at the foot of the first enclosure to set fire to the gates with torches.

At the top of another slab is seen the attack of another fortress, which has only two rows of towers, and is built upon a small hill at the foot of a mountain situated behind it. A river, in which fishes are visible, flows in front of the scene. The besieged, as usual, are



covered with skins, and protect themselves with square bucklers. Among the besiegers some—as, for instance, a eunuch shooting with a bow, and a soldier covering his companion with a large shield—are Assyrians; the others evidently belong to foreign, probably auxiliary troops. These have no other dress but the piece of cloth rolled round their loins; their beard is short and curled; their hair, gathered up behind, is not curled, and is held fast by a simple band. Having no shields, they fight exposed.

On this bas-relief we perceive, for the first time, a warlike machine often met with in other bas-reliefs—a battering-ram. It moves upon four wheels, and to advance it to the walls a flagged road has evidently been made. The whole machine is covered with a roof, which envelopes it on all sides, and which appears to be regularly ornamented. This roof is very much raised in front to elevate the point of suspension of the rams, and thus give them more force; the rams are provided with lance-headed extremities, and it is plain they have already effected a small breach in the wall.

The siege of another fortress, having a single row of towers, built on a hill, next attracts our notice. The besieged appear to belong to a different nation from those whom we have heretofore met with; and, judging from a very well-preserved head, they must be *negroes*. Their noses are flat, their lips thick, and their hair short and woolly. They are clothed in short tunics, and do not wear the characteristic skins of the other people so often represented. Their arms are lances, and they have no shields to protect themselves with. The besiegers are Assyrians. There are two couples of archers; one of each is kneeling, the other standing. Each couple is composed, as usual, of a eunuch drawing the bow, and of a soldier covering his companion with either a round or square shield as tall as a man, and resting

on the ground. In this bas-relief the long shield has its upper extremity bent back, in order to shelter the combatants more efficaciously. Judging from the reticulated lines upon it, this shield must have been covered with metallic plates.

We have next a similar scene of the two horsemen; one is a eunuch, the other is bearded, and both wear pointed helmets. On this bas-relief it is still more apparent that the enemy are negroes: the physiognomy and hair of the one falling before the horsemen can leave no doubt respecting the race to which he belongs. It is seen that, like his companion, who is standing and defending himself with his lance, this individual has no beard. Both are clothed in short tunics, and their girdles, indicated by undulated lines, seem to be made of cords. A river with fish in it flows at the bottom of the scene. In the angle of the bas-relief there is an Assyrian warrior kneeling down and shooting an arrow. As this figure turns its back to the preceding ones, it is connected with the scene sculptured on the following slab.

This represents the attack of a town or fortress built upon an isolated hill, at the foot of which commences or terminates the river that we saw at the bottom of the preceding slab. The fortress has only one row of towers. It is impossible to distinguish the character of the people within the building; but, judging by the absence of the buckler, it is presumable that they were the same as the preceding. All doubt, however, will be cleared away as soon as we can read Assyrian writing, for near the fortress is a short inscription, giving, most likely, its name.

Besides the kneeling warrior whom we have seen in the corner of the preceding bas-relief, three others form part of the besiegers. They are all Assyrians, as is shewn by their arms, their garments, and the manner in which their hair is dressed. Their shields are round, and covered with plates; on their breasts they wear the crossed braces, with a large plate at the point of intersection. They have no chain-armour, but the upper part of their tunics appears covered with regular rows of square plates: three rows of these same plates ornament the lower edge as well.

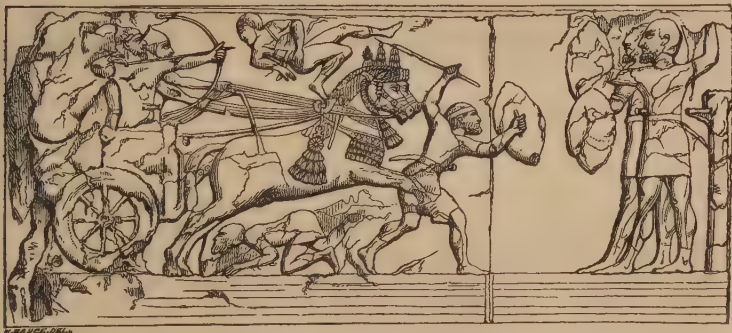
Three other personages are seen upon this slab; but, as they are turning their back upon the besieged place, and shooting their arrows in an opposite direction, they belong to another scene, the principal portion of which is upon the following slab. Besides this, they have no longer the river with fish in it at their feet; by which fact a different locality is indicated. These three warriors belong to the auxiliary troops already mentioned. Their bodies are bare, their loins only being surrounded by a piece of cloth held fast by a girdle.

Their arms consist of a short sword hung on a baldric, and a bow, with its extremities terminating in birds' heads. Their beards are shorter than those of the Assyrians, and do not fall in a square mass upon their breasts, but are rounded off, and terminated by a row of little plaits. Their hair, on the contrary, is long, and falls simply upon their shoulders, without being gathered into a thick *chignon* of regular curls.

Another attack comes next of a place inhabited by a different people, and built upon a hill, surrounded at the base by a wall fortified by towers. The battlements are, in every case, pointed, the windows square, and the doorways arched. The inhabitants, who defend themselves with bows and not with lances, like those represented on the preceding slabs, appear to be clad in a robe, with a hood covering their head. These personages have a Jewish physiognomy; but it is easy to be deceived by trusting to such appearances.

Presently, on a roadway, is a battering-ram beating a tower already partly demolished. The point of the battering-ram is sharp and painted blue, which indicates that it was iron; the covering of this machine is itself overlaid with quadrangular plates, like those on the shields of the Assyrians.

After the battering-ram, we again have a king or warrior in a car drawn by horses at full gallop, and running over various enemies.



The king has not got his tiara, but a pointed helmet, like his companions the driver and the soldier with the shield. The bas-relief being in a bad condition, it is difficult to make out the details; but it would seem that the vanquished are again different from any we have as yet seen. They have a short beard, and no hair visible upon the top of their head; they are clothed in a tunic descending only to the middle of their thighs; their legs are encased in short

boots; their shields are of a pointed oval, and their sabres bent so as to resemble a Turkish yatagan. One of these vanquished people is under the horses' feet, while another appears up in the air, through faulty perspective; a third is flying before the car; lastly, two of them are standing face to face with their enemy, and protecting their bodies with their shields, as if still wishing to defend themselves resolutely with the help of their lances.

Two horsemen, galloping and armed with lances, are seen trampling under their horses' feet enemies whose accoutrements consist of a curved sabre, an oval shield, and a lance. The only difference between this last nation and that represented on the opposite side of the doorway, consists in the fact, that the personages belonging to the latter wore caps, while those belonging to the other had nothing but simple bands for head-dresses. But this difference is perhaps merely apparent, and arises from the better preservation of the bas-relief, on which the details are more distinct than on the other.

Such is a summary description of an upper and lower range of bas-reliefs. They are, as has been seen, all historical, and represent conquests and battles. At least three nations appear distinctly on them as vanquished by the Assyrians: individuals whose physiognomy and hair induce a belief that they are negroes; those who wear the hood; and, lastly, those whose arms consist of a curved sabre and the oval buckler. Let us hope that our progress in deciphering the Assyrian cuneiform character will, by enabling us to read the inscriptions which accompany the bas-reliefs, throw a positive light upon these facts of the history of a people so interesting yet so little known.

Another scene has yet to be described. Three warriors are represented as swimming across a river to a castle. One has his shoulder pierced with arrows shot by enemies upon the bank. The action of the shooting figures is well varied and very spirited. The swimmers are leaning their breasts against blown skins—just in the way used to-day by the fellahs on the Tigris and Euphrates. The waves are represented by such waving lines as might be made by drawing a comb over sand, and fishes are shooting through them. The castle has quite a modern look, too, with its towers and battlements. Women appear over the battlements holding up the palms of their hands,—either in supplication to the deities or welcome to the fugitives.

We next see the results of the fray. Prisoners, evidently belonging to the nation of which the preceding slabs have shewn the disasters, now appear. Their nationality is recognised from the animals' skins they have on their shoulders. The first figure is a

man carrying a leathern bottle on his shoulder, with a smaller one in his hand; these bottles are fastened in exactly the same way as those now used in the East to contain oil, honey, or to carry water on a journey. Behind this individual there is a naked child, who is looking up as if to implore the protection of a man walking behind the first one. In this bas-relief there are also other figures, which all appear as if they were being driven by an Assyrian warrior, wearing a pointed helmet, and armed with a bow and sword. We see also prisoners before the king. The latter is robed in his usual rich costume; behind him is the eunuch with the bandalet and the fly-flapper; kneeling before him are two prisoners with fetters on their hands and feet: they belonged, doubtless, to the nation whose disasters were so frequently represented. They have, in fact, their shoulders covered with a skin, and wear small boots with turned-up points. Their girdle, also, is indicated by undulated lines, which are apparently meant for cords. Another group represents other prisoners also chained and clothed in the same costume; besides this, the short tunic worn by this people beneath their skin cloaks is very evident. Behind these prisoners is a eunuch or some other personage clothed in the Assyrian fashion, and, no doubt, conducting them before the king. There is a band of inscriptions along the bottom of the two eunuchs' garments and of the prisoners' tunics.

Some other prisoners are discerned, led by an archer; they wear a short tunic bound with a girdle, which appears formed of small cords, or a plait. Their shoulders are covered with animals' skins, and their legs with half-boots, having turned-up points. The one who walks first has a small leathern bottle in his hand. The last appears to be a woman, to judge at least from the cut of the robe, which is very similar to those worn by other female prisoners on these bas-reliefs. This woman is carrying a child on her shoulders.

Prisoners come also led by eunuchs. The captives' beards are short, and their heads bound with bands; their hair hangs on their shoulders in parallel and vertical rolls, instead of being like that of the Assyrians. Their dress appears to be composed of a long robe, ornamented at the lower edge with rounded fringe. On their backs and shoulders they have cloaks also fringed, which, from their appearance, must have resembled the *abbaiés* of the Arabs; that is, a sack slit up in front, and open at the sides to allow the arms to pass through. The girdles of these captives are, like those of the people clothed in skins, indicated by undulated lines, from the side of which hangs an ornament like a key, or watch appendage. They have fetters on their feet and hands, and are in a supplicating attitude. A bearded guard is seen with four captives before him; two are

standing and two are kneeling ; all of them have a ring passed through the lower lip ; to this ring is fastened a rope, which, as we shall see, the king holds in his hand. One of the prisoners appears to have a cap with a flap hanging down behind ; but this possibly may merely be something produced by the corroded state of the slab. Besides the long robe fringed at the bottom, they all wear a kind of chasuble. There is an inscription at the bottom of the guard's or magian's garment, who is standing behind the captives. On another bas-relief is sculptured the king, holding in his hand the cord fixed to the prisoners, and resting his lance on one of those who are kneeling before him. As usual, he is followed by his two characteristic servants, the eunuch carrying the fly-flapper, and the other with the bow and quiver.

Again, the same scene is repeated, but in an inverted order. The captives kneeling before the king are not of the same nation as the preceding ones ; for they have the skin, cloak, and turned-up half-boots. Behind them are four eunuchs guarding them. A long band of inscriptions extends over all the lower portion of these personages.

Three prisoners belonging to the besieged people are being led into a fortress, one of whom is evidently a woman, dressed in a long fringed robe, coming down to her ankles ; on her shoulders she appears to have a small cloak, which perhaps forms part of the hood, that is also fringed, and hangs behind her head like a point or tail, only allowing her face to be seen. She has a little leathern bottle in her hand ; her feet, like those of the other prisoners, are bound with



sandals exactly similar to those seen in Sennaar and Arabia. The sole is maintained in the middle by a band fastened on each side of the foot to a strap that goes round it, passing behind the heel ; an-

other strap secures the anterior extremity of the sole by passing between the toes. A second female, clothed in the same manner, is seen carrying a naked child astride on her left shoulder, just as Arabian women do now. The child's body is certainly naked, but it has a small hood: this is one of the reasons which incline us to think that this head-dress did not form part of the robe, but was merely placed above it. Before this woman is a eunuch with a pointed helmet, raising his mace in his right hand. This eunuch does not wear his usual civic attire, but is completely armed: the coat of mail is seen on his shoulders, from one of which his quiver is suspended, and he holds his bow in his left hand; his legs are covered with a tissue of close rings of mail, over which are his half-boots laced up in front. Three personages walk before the eunuch; they are three men belonging to the same nation as the women; their dress is exactly the same, and their sex can only be distinguished by their physiognomy and their beard: the latter is shorter than that of the Assyrians; their hair cannot be seen, as it is hidden by the hood. We shall see these prisoners conducted into the presence of the king.

The king is in his car, preceded by two guards; before him is a eunuch preparing to kill an individual whose head is enveloped in a hood, and who, consequently, must belong to the same nation as the preceding prisoners. The king wears his ordinary costume, and, as he is not in the act of fighting, is accompanied by the servant carrying the parasol. The horses' trappings offer nothing new; only as the details are in a good state of preservation, we have a perfect view of the hook at the extremity of the yoke, to which hook is attached the tassel that hangs upon the horses' flank; it is also evident that the bridle passed into a ring inside this hook, and, after traversing it, divided into three thongs.

The two guards, who are standing before the car, hold their arms stretched out and lowered before them. Perhaps this attitude was intended to intimate to the prisoner that he was to kneel down and undergo his fate. The dress of these warriors is simple: they appear to have merely a tunic tied by a girdle, but it is evident that, besides this, they wear a piece of cloth wrapped round their loins; otherwise it would be impossible to account for the appearance of the fringe, which hangs obliquely before and behind.

The eunuch is in his war costume, every detail of which can be beautifully made out. He has on a pointed helmet; a tunic fringed at the bottom comes down to his knees, and his breast is covered with a cuirass, formed of a tissue which is covered with regular rows of juxtaposed scales; the cuirass, like the tunic, has fringe round the bottom. His legs are defended, not by chain-armour, but by a

stocking covered with imbricated scales; over this defensive armour are boots laced in front, and reaching up to the knee-pan. The eunuch holds the beard or throat of the prisoner with his right hand, while with his left he draws his sword from its scabbard, as if waiting for a sign from the king to use it. The unhappy prisoner has fetters on his hands, which he appears to raise in a supplicating manner.

The bas-reliefs give us, amongst other things, a pictorial history of the preparations for the attack of a maritime place, that could not be approached without constructing a bridge or dike. Numerous boats are seen bringing the necessary materials, and on one slab is seen a fortress, placed on a mountain, at the foot of which the dike is already begun. Above there are other fortresses: but it is evident that the attack is not directed against these, as the boats pass before them without stopping.

The boats are all of the same form, but some are distinguished from the others by a mast having a top. The stern and head appear rounded, and rise, with a marked elevation, terminating at the prow with a horse's head, and at the poop they spread out, so as to look something like a fish's tail. The horse's head has, like those we have already seen, a thick band of imbricated scales.

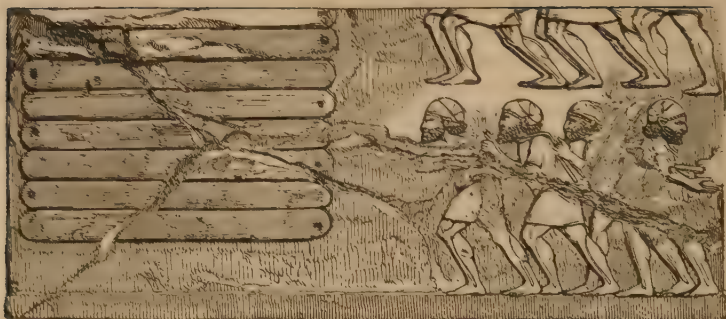
Five of these barks carry a mast supported by two stays, one of which is fastened forward under the neck of the horse's head, and the other aft, at the beginning of the fish's tail. The tops at the mast-heads are of two descriptions: there are some which are rounded and wide above, with the shrouds of the stays seen round them; while there are others, on the contrary, which appear square, and where the stays, of which the shrouds are not visible, run to the angles of the quadrangle. From this we are justified in believing that these quadrangles are not tops; that the tops are hidden, and that the square which conceals them is a sail; and then, the stays just spoken of would be nothing more than the braces of the sail. This doubtless appears very small, but it is evident that ancient sculptors paid as little attention to proportion as they did to perspective: the bas-reliefs themselves are a proof of this, and the smallness of the sail is not a sufficient motive for rejecting the supposition just made.

Each craft is manned by four or five rowers with short beards, clothed in a tunic, and having their heads covered with caps. They appear to row with oars flattened at the extremity, which are plunged in the water and curved like an obtuse sickle. Although the tholes of these oars are not shown, it does not appear that the rowers use them like paddles; neither are we justified, from the position of the arms, in saying the rowers used their oars as we do, that is as levers

supported on the side of the boat. There is no rudder visible, and it is probable that one of the rowers, the one who is stationed at the stern, steered the boat by means of his oar. At the top of one bas-relief, this steersman or master, is seen fixing to the stern-post, the rope which runs to the angle of the square-top; this action strengthens an opinion that these quadrangles are sails. In such a case, the master or helmsman would be employed in trimming them. At the bottom of the same bas-relief, this same master appears again, dressed somewhat differently, and directing the landing of the cargo, of which we will now speak.

All these barks, with the exception of a very few, of which we will say a few words presently, carry squared planks, some of which, tied to the stern-post by a cord, float at the stern; while others, four in number, seem to be supported by the acroteria above the heads of the rowers. As, however, nothing is to be seen which would keep these pieces of wood in this position, which would, moreover, have compromised the safety of the craft, unless we suppose them disproportionately wide and deep in comparison to their length, we are inclined to believe that this is to be regarded as another intentional instance of faulty perspective. We shall see battle-scenes in which the dead are represented above the heads of the living warriors. In the present case, it is possible that the sculptor wished to show the beams placed in the boats themselves, or at the sides. It is not, perhaps, without use to remark, that the planks at one end have a hole bored in them, and that through this the rope passes which binds them to the stern-post: this hole is apparent, even at the end of those which are above the acroteria; and, at the present day, the planks which come to Mósul from the mountains of Kurdistan are pierced in the same manner at one of their ends,—a rope being passed through the hole to drag them through the forests to the places where they are made into rafts, in which form they float down the Tigris.

The war-boats of the bas-reliefs thus laden are all turned towards the same point, that is, towards the fortress to be attacked. This stronghold appears to be on the summit of a mountain, on which a road is traced. Unfortunately, the upper half of the slab, which shows this warlike story, is wanting; but, judging by what remains, it is probable that the sea or river, on which the scene takes place, stretched above the fortress. From this we may conclude that the sculptor wished to represent it isolated in the midst of the waves. At the foot of the mountain a straight row of posts is seen, which indicates that the dike or bridge is begun: a similar row, placed a little above, shows that the place was to be reached from two points. Near the mountains, on bas-reliefs, are seen sailors occupied in unloading the



boats of pieces of wood: some raise them on their shoulders, and push out one of their ends; while others, who are on land, are harnessed to a cord, which is passed through a hole in the other end.

None of these barks with cargoes have a mast; others, on the contrary, which appear empty, have not only a mast with a top or sail, but are all going in an opposite direction to the first ones: they are sailing from the fortress. The simplest explanation that can be given of this fact is, that the masted boats have left their freight at the foot of the fortress, and are returning, perhaps, to fetch others; as the holds or the *acroteria* are no longer obstructed by the pieces of wood, the sailors have been able to set up the masts, which they use to accelerate their speed. This appears the more probable, because these empty boats differ neither in form, dimensions, nor the number of rowers, from those that are bringing the materials: the first ones, then, cannot be taken for men-of-war, serving, as it were, for convoy-ships.

The fortress which seems to be the object of the expedition, unfortunately no longer exists, the top of the bas-relief being destroyed; the two others, before which the fleet is passing, appear, like the first, to be isolated in the midst of the waves, for the striated volutes that represent them, are seen both above and below the towers. One of these castles is on the summit of a little mountain, the other seems to be built on a foundation regularly constructed with squared stones; both have rows of towers superposed.

In the water which covers the space of these five bas-reliefs, numerous animals are seen swimming, some of which appear natural, while others are certainly symbolic. Among the latter is the bull with a human head, similar to those met with at the large door-ways of the Assyrian temples: at the bottom of the bas-relief there is

another bull, whose body is naturally formed, but he has wings, and is galloping. The most remarkable, however, of these fantastic beings, is a personage with a human body, and a fish's tail; he is similar to the figures often engraved upon the Babylonian seals and cylinders, and occurs twice. The beard and hair of this monster are arranged like those of the king, or the winged figures; on his head he wears a rounded tiara, with double bull's horns at the side, and surmounted by the *fleur-de-lis*; one of his hands, which is open, is held up in the air, while the other, which is also open, is held down. All these symbolical figures are looking towards the fortress, and appear to be accompanying the flotilla.

Among the creatures are fishes, tortoises, crabs, lizards or crocodiles, and shells of various forms. The characteristics of these creatures are not sufficiently distinct, or sufficiently exact to enable us to say with certainty whether the scene of action is a river, or the sea. The latter supposition is the more probable one. In the first place, the way in which the water is represented, shows that the waves were rough, and does not at all resemble the manner adopted by the Assyrian sculptors in representing rivers on other bas-reliefs. For this purpose they engraved longitudinal and parallel lines, separated, now and then, by a few spirals, which ran always in the same direction; in the present instance, on the contrary, we see lines and spirals crossing each other in every direction, without the least indication of any current. The form of the shells is rather that of sea-shells; the long fish, which may be taken for eels, are found in the sea as well as in rivers; and, besides this, the one seen in the middle of one of the bas-reliefs, has a beak, which makes him look like a hippocampus. Lastly, the tortoise, which occurs several times, cannot be the tortoise of the Euphrates, the Tigris, or the Nile, which has a carapace without scales, while ours has very regular, and very apparent ones, which causes it to resemble those that supply the ordinary tortoise-shell. On the other hand, there are, in our bas-reliefs, several saurians, with squamous skins, and, in the seas of the old world, none of that family exist, whereas, besides the crocodile several kinds of lizards inhabit the banks and waters of the Nile. This question is therefore undecided, and, unfortunately, will always remain so, for the inscriptions which the fortresses probably bore have disappeared.

The five bas-reliefs representing the sea scene just described, form a series by themselves, by no means the least interesting of those discovered.

But enough has been said of these bas-reliefs. The battles fought and won, the prisoners secured, and some of them punished, the vic-

tors, in true classic style, sit down to a great feast. As the scenes of this banquet differ very little on the various slabs discovered in the ruins, it is not desirable to describe them one after the other. A general sketch of the whole feast will be best, just indicating especially where any remarkable peculiarities exist in any individual bas-relief.

The guests are all seated at table; servants are seen employed in obtaining water or wine from a large vase, to carry to the feasters; this vase is a kind of tub raised upon an elevated leg. The persons charged with this task are eunuchs, unarmed, but in their usual dress. To carry the liquid they have little pails, with their bases formed of lions' heads, similar to those we have seen borne in the processions of the façades. One of the eunuchs, with a fly-flapper in his hand, precedes the others.

Musicians are seen, clad in a short tunic held fast by a girdle; their head-dress is different from that of the Assyrians, as is likewise their beard; the latter is short and simply curled, while the former is all drawn back and cut horizontally above the shoulders, where it is terminated by a single row of curls. The instrument on which these musicians are playing is placed against the body under the left arm, and appears to be held fast by a broad band passing over the right shoulder. It is a kind of lyre, with a square body and lateral branches; the latter being connected with a cross-bar, to which are fixed the cords, which seem to have been rather numerous; we can count eight at least, and in the part which is corroded away there is room for three or four more. This lyre, like our own harp, was played by both hands at the same time, one being placed on one side and the other on the other. Exactly similar instruments may be seen in Nubia and Dongola at the present day; and the physiognomy, the head-dress, and even the costume of the musicians, still occurs in our times in these same countries!

We again also behold two eunuchs, one of whom has the fly-flapper; then come two bearded servants, with Assyrian head-dress and costume. In their right hands both have a mace; and with the left they hold up a vase, rather broad at top, and shaped like a lion's head at bottom.

The guests are seated on high stools, four at each table; they are evidently Assyrians, dressed in the long robe and fringed scarf; some have beards, the others are eunuchs. All the guests, according to the antique custom, are eating with their fingers; some hold up goblets, with bottoms shaped like lions' heads, as if drinking some one's health. The tables are evidently covered with a cloth. The stools are adorned with bulls' heads; the feet are like cones formed of rows of imbrica-



ted scales, or of gradually decreasing rings, such as are sometimes seen on English tables. It is impossible to guess what were the objects placed on the tables, all these bas-reliefs having been greatly damaged by the action of fire and of the other elements. On one, the feathers or the tail of some bird may be plainly perceived; but every where else these objects are at present indiscernible.

The representation of this banquet extended over the whole of a tier of bas-reliefs placed near a series illustrating warfare; the battle and the feasting being thus placed side by side—the one being the reward which awaited the victors in the other.



THE KING, MAGIAN, AND ATTENDANT EUNUCHS.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ASSYRIAN KING AND HIS COURT.

As might be expected in the decorations of a palace, we find in the Assyrian remains frequent representations of the monarch in regal costume, attended by the chief officers of his court. On slab after slab we find the same subject—the king in his robes. At times he holds his right hand in the air, whilst an eunuch carries the fly-flapper and bandelet behind him; at others his left hand rests upon the hilt of his sword, and with the right he holds a long stick, on which he appears to lean. His hair is arranged in the same manner as that of the eunuchs, and his long beard is dressed with the same minute care. His whiskers are curled in little curls, and his moustache, which is cut clean off above the lip, is similarly curled at the corners of the mouth. Numerous and regular curls cover his cheeks, and the part of his beard which hangs down is divided into tightly twisted cords, broken by three horizontal rows of curls, and three similar rows are found again at the bottom. This arrangement, more or less carefully carried out, occurs in all the male figures which have not, like those of the eunuchs, lost the signs of their manhood, and may be considered as an ancient proof of the care that the Orientals always took, and still take, of their beards.

The king is crowned with a tiara of the form of a truncated cone. As the tiara appears to take the form of the head, we may suppose that it was made of some flexible material. From the centre of this kind of crown rises a small cone, and the whole exactly resembles the caps worn by the Persians of the present day, which, as we are aware, are formed of black skin with the fur on, and have on the top a little

cone of printed stuff or red cloth. But the tiara of the Assyrian kings was assuredly not composed of animals' skins; for on a companion bas-relief there are bands of red ornaments painted upon it. Two bandellets, which also are red, spring from underneath the back of the tiara, pass over the shoulders, and hang down behind the back: they are terminated by a woollen flock or fringe.

Although the figure of the king occurs often, it is somewhat difficult to make out clearly the form of his garments. First of all, he has a long tunic covered with regular rows of squares, in the middle of which are rosettes: the bottom of this garment is bordered with a fringe terminating in four rows of pearls. Over the tunic is thrown a kind of cloak, the arrangement of which appears to be explicable in one manner only.

The mantle must have been composed of two pieces, one in front and one at back. These pieces were rounded off at the bottom, and sown together, leaving an opening however through which the head might pass; each of the upper corners of these pieces is stretched out in the form of a band or thong, the front one being thrown backwards over the right shoulder, and the posterior one being cast forwards over the left shoulder.

On comparing two sculptures, in which the king is clad in the same dress, but in the one shows his right, and in the other his left side, it will be seen that the explanation just given is very satisfactory. In both views, in fact, the mantle appears to be scooped out at the side as far as the top, while each half is rounded off at the bottom. In one case we see the corner of the posterior half stretching out and passing over the right shoulder; in the other, where a more front view of the body is obtained, the posterior appendage is remarked falling forward at the same time that the angle of the anterior half is seen stretching out to pass over the left shoulder. In the latter case, the right arm seems as if it passed through a short armlet, or a hole made in the stuff, and not between the two pieces, as it does on the opposite side. Such a plan may possibly have been adopted, in order to avoid the derangement of the mantle by the more frequent movements of the right arm.

The embroidery of this royal mantle is as rich as that of the tunic which it covers; the material is covered with large rosettes, which have smaller ones in their centres; all the edges are bordered with a series of little rosettes, contained in squares. This is the case, too, with the opening of the arm, as well as that through which the neck passes. Lastly, a long fringe sets off the borders of the two halves, and extends even to the extremity of the appendages, which here appear reduced to the mere border of little rosettes.

To complete the description of this Assyrian regal costume, it must be added that the feet are shod with sandals, having an elevated quarter, painted with red and blue stripes alternately. At the anterior extremity you perceive a ring through which the great toe passes in order to fix the sole; which is also, by the by, kept in its place by a cord passing over the foot and traversing alternately two holes in the inside and three on the outside of the quarter. Sandals precisely similar are still used at the present day in Mesopotamia, and particularly in Mount Sindjâr.

The costume of the sovereign represented in another sculpture deserves notice. The ear-rings are simple enough: on each side of the ring there are three little globules, and a stem, which is nearly spindle-shaped, and ornamented simply with a few knobs. The bracelets for the wrists are, on the contrary, very rich. They are formed of a plate, on which regularly-marked divisions appear to indicate the existence of joints calculated to produce flexibility. This plate bears a number of large rosettes touching each other. They are composed of an external ring, and then a first circle of small leaves, in which is a second ring surrounding a small rosette, in the middle of which rises a projecting globule. The bracelets, which clasp the arm above the elbow, are spiral, formed, as usual, of wires bound together.

The sheath of the sword is very remarkable. To judge by its prismatic form, we may presume the blade resembled those of our own swords, but it is much broader. Near the end, there is an ornament composed of two lions couchant, who embrace the sheath with their paws, at the same time throwing their heads back.

We will now glance at a phase of bygone life revealed to us by the excavations; one of which reminds us that, in ancient as in modern times, the chief business of the monarchs was the levying and receipt of taxes. We have lately seen on one wall the king conquering a country,—slaying its warriors, destroying its strongholds, and carrying off its men and women captive. On the opposite side is sculptured the sequel of the campaign,—the conquered bring to the conqueror an annual tribute. Botta found these slabs of unusual height, covered with these processions of tributaries making their way to the king. One of these two personages carry in each hand a small model of a fortress, the emblem, doubtless, of some conquered town. The beard and hair of these individuals, as well as their dress, differ from what we have as yet beheld. The hair is not gathered up in a mass of curls upon the shoulders; it hangs down in regular rolls, cut circularly at the same height above the neck. The hair of the beard, curled on the jaws in rows of curls,

hangs beneath in short rolls, like those of the hair of the head. The beard does not fall down upon the breast, like that of the other personages, but it is cut off level with the shoulders.

The cap that these figures wear appears to be formed of bands crossed on the temples, and widening on the front and back of the head. We see vanquished personages and prisoners wearing a similar head-dress; and it is, perhaps, important to remark that this head-dress is nearly similar to that of foreign people represented in some Egyptian bas-reliefs, and accompanied by a hieroglyphical legend, which proves them to be Scythians.

The dress appears to be a tunic, ornamented near the bottom with a slight band of circular fringe; at the bottom is another band of fringe, which is much longer and triangular, or pointed. A sort of cloak, open up the sides, and covering the back and front of the body, appears to be thrown over the tunic. The lower edges, as well as those of openings up the sides, are bordered with a band of circular fringe; and at the angles there are little tassels, formed of three tufts. The covering for the feet consists of a sort of half boot, open and laced in front. The ears and arms are without ornaments.

The little fortresses that these figures hold in their hands have but one row of towers, connected one with another by walls. The embrasures and windows are distinctly seen. A similar object, at the beginning of the Nineveh researches, was mistaken on a badly preserved bas-relief for a cage.

Two persons next follow, each of whom is carrying in his hands a round vase, or a sort of bowl; and after them two similar figures to those, carrying sacks or leathern bottles on their shoulders. With their left hands they grasp the necks, which are also tied with strings; their right hands support the bottoms.

A man next appears, leading two horses, the trappings of the horses being like those already noticed, with the exception that the plume differs in not being composed of tufts placed one above another. A stem, fluted transversely, supports a crescent, with the points turned downwards; from this spring radii representing feathers; while a sort of fasces, ornamented with similar feathers, surmounts the whole, and appears to terminate the stem, which seems to be the fixed head-stall of the bridle.

All these figures are seen walking towards the king, that we are now about to see belong to another procession, and direct their course towards another kingly figure, originally standing near a doorway, and probably a monarch of the same dynasty. Let us glance at the people who approach him. First we have a eunuch holding a round vase, which he holds with his left hand, and appears to be covering

with his right. Two eunuchs come next, the first of whom carries a vase with a bottom formed of a lion's head, and the second a round vase similar to that of the preceding bas-relief. These eunuchs have no swords. Two eunuchs then appear, with folded hands, and without swords.

Two more eunuchs follow; the first with a sword hung at his waist, has the left hand hanging down, and the right raised in the air; the one following him is without weapons, and has his hands folded. Two eunuchs without swords, and carrying a table precisely similar to that we saw before. Two bearded guards succeed, dressed, like the eunuchs, with the fringed tunic and the scarf, and holding a lance in their left hand.

An eunuch next brings by the handles two vases with lions' heads. Before him is a guard, with his hair and beard dressed in the usual manner: he is clothed in a tunic, with short sleeves and coming down to the knees, where it is bordered with a row of rosettes; a scarf or belt passes over his shoulder, and seems to support his sword; this scarf is, like that of the eunuchs, embroidered with two rows of rosettes, but it has no long fringe. The warrior has his bow slung on his left arm, and his left hand carries a mace. On his right side is the quiver, the arrows of which are not seen, because its extremity is hidden by a piece of cloth that hangs down. The colours had remained very evident on this figure: the scarf and quiver were painted red; the bow was blue; the hair, beard, circuit, and pupil of the eye were black, as usual.

Guards and eunuch succeed each other, some of them seeming to beckon on those who follow, that all may pay their court to the monarch who is the centre of this sculptured court. Some are armed with swords, some carry quivers, bows, and maces, others have the crossed hands of men full of thought, and displaying the habit and aspects of peace. Here and there we see a magian with his head bound with the band ornamented with rosettes, and having the bandelets hanging down from it. He leans one hand upon the pommel of his sword, and raises the other in the air. Behind him is a eunuch with his right hand hanging down open. Another magian carries a triple flower-bud.

In one instance, standing before the king, is, first of all, the magian, one of whose hands is resting on the pommel of his sword, while his left is open, and hanging down. Behind him is an eunuch, whose right hand is open and raised, while his left also rests on the handle of a sword. In another of the bas-reliefs are two figures, the first an eunuch with his hands crossed, and the second a bearded personage, dressed exactly like the eunuchs, with

his hands in a similar position. But the best view of the king and court may be had by the examination of the processions, which extend over all one side of an esplanade. One represents the king, in his usual costume, raising his right hand and holding in the other the symbolical flower, no longer as a bud but full-blown. Behind him is the eunuch with the fly-flapper and the bandelet. A magian and eunuch stand before the king. The eunuch appears, by raising his hand, to announce the arrival of the personages who follow. An eunuch and a bearded guard, both dressed in the same manner, look with folded hands at the king. Another bearded guard stands next with his hands folded; behind him is an eunuch, who, with his right hand raised, and thrown backwards, seems also to beckon to the personages who follow.

The first four are dressed in long robes fringed at the bottom edge; their backs are covered with small cloaks, which are square at the bottom, and edged all round with a border of rounded fringe; they appear to wear boots, as their toes are not seen; and have on calottes or caps, which appear to be formed of bands crossed on one another. Their hair is short; what is seen of it falls on their necks in vertical rolls; their beards are arranged in the same manner, except that there are four rows of small curls on their cheeks and chins.

The first of these personages carries in his left hand four rosettes, similar to those so often seen on bracelets; they appear to be fixed on a plate by a band which covers them; but perhaps the sculptor merely wished to represent a box, which he left open at the sides, in order to allow the objects which it contained to be seen; the *naïveté* of these ancient sculptors authorises this supposition. The two personages that follow carry ear-rings and finger-rings enclosed, like the rosettes, in a box, or simply put upon a plate. In another case we see only an individual holding a bowl or round vase in each hand.

The following figures are dressed somewhat differently; instead of a square cloak, they have a sort of cope bordered with rounded fringe falling before and behind: we have already met with this kind of dress. It is plain that all these individuals belonged to the same nation. Three of these persons with the cope carry a bowl in each hand; the two following carry leathern bottles upon their shoulders; the last is so dilapidated, that it is impossible to determine what were the objects in his hands.

In another almost similar series, eunuchs or guards, with folded hands, are walking towards the king, followed by bearers of presents, one of whom holds in his hands a little fortress; and behind him are two others, each of whom carries two vases with handles, and with the bottoms shaped like lions' heads.

In third procession, which extended all along an extensive wall, there is one of these figures whose dress cannot be the cope worn by the others, but rather a small square cloak, coinciding perfectly with the form of such a cloak as is worn by the *abbaié* of the Arabs, open in front, and with short sleeves. The two anterior edges of this kind of cloak were fastened by means of a cord or small chain, one of whose ends, furnished with a cross-bar, is passed through a ring fixed on one of the edges. It is a singular fact, that it is precisely in this manner that the Arabs of the present day fasten their *abbaié*, only, according to their fashion, the cord is placed nearer the neck.

Numerous as are the bas-reliefs representing the wars of the king, his conquests, his captives, and his tributaries, we have yet another series to examine, which will give us an idea of another, but no less interesting, phase of ancient Assyrian life. The series we now refer to consists entirely of subjects representing civil life. Of the two rows of bas-reliefs of which they are composed, the lower one is a suite of hunting scenes, the upper one represents a banquet. Let us begin by a description of the lower bas-reliefs.

Two horsemen are seen galloping in the midst of trees; both are clothed in simple tunics fastened with girdles; they wear stockings made of rings of mail, and boots laced up in front. The first has a lance, the second is flogging his horse with a whip that has three lashes. The harness offers nothing remarkable. Some birds are seen flying through the trees; judging from the two long feathers in their tails, they belong, probably, to the family of *katas*, so common throughout the East. In the succeeding slab we have a continuation of the forest, in the middle of which are two men on foot, one of whom holds a hare and the other a bird. Further on is seen a horse without a rider; on its head there seems to be a bird of prey, which seems, by the shortness of its beak, to be a falcon.

The next bas-relief is much dilapidated. All that can be seen is a man walking between the trees, and carrying in his hands objects that it is not possible to distinguish. Two eunuchs clothed in their ordinary attire, each of whom is carrying a bird and a hare, come next. The birds, as well as the trees, are painted blue; the pyramidal form of the trees, and the manner in which the branches are arranged, shew them to be cypresses or fir-trees.

A slab, of which, unfortunately, a fragment only remains, displays a bird pierced with an arrow. There is also a disk, in the middle of which it is easy to distinguish the figure of a lion, in which arrows are implanted. This may not have been the representation of a real lion, but a target for the archers, for the repre-

sentation of archers practising is seen on the adjoining slab, where an eunuch evidently appears to be aiming at a disk placed on the top



of a mast or stick, and in the middle of which there is a large rosette. Behind this eunuch is a bearded man, who has in one hand a whip and a hare, and in the other the bridle of a horse without a rider. On the right is another figure, turned in a contrary direction to the preceding persons, and who forms part of the king's suite. This attendant has his mace on his shoulder, and one of his hands is resting on the pommel of his sword. By comparing his dress with that of the man placed behind the eunuch, an evident proof of what has been several times asserted will be obtained, namely, that there was a piece of cloth wrapped round the loins above the tunic; for on the one, the fringe rises obliquely; on the other, the first threads of the fringe are distinctly seen tied to the girdle which fastens the cloth. On looking at these figures, it is evident that the interior and hidden end of the cloth was also fringed; and the bottom of the tunic is perceived in the angle formed by the crossing of the two extremities. This fact appears remarkable, because the same kind of attire is now found in Arabia, and because it was formerly used by the Egyptians.

Three horsemen gallop after the car of the king. The first two are eunuchs, and the scene is still in the midst of trees. Then comes the king himself in his car, drawn by two horses at full speed. He is accompanied by the driver and eunuch, holding the parasol over his master's head, and, as he is not in action, he wears his fringed cloak. The tiara and parasol are painted in red stripes; the flower in the king's hand is painted blue. The handle of the driver's whip is a gazelle's foot; and in this resembles some of our own hunting-

whips. Two guards, carrying lances, walk before the car. This closes, thus far, the hunting scene. We now turn to another, and, perhaps, still more interesting subject. First are seen four guards carrying maces on their shoulders, marching towards a palace or temple, built on the bank of a river containing fish, and on which



are boats. This edifice is raised on a square base; the façade is composed of two pilasters, without ornaments, at the angles, and of two columns with rounded bases. The capitals, which are heavy and massive in proportion to the rest, are formed of several rows of mouldings surmounted with thick volutes, above which are smaller ones. The abacus is like a staircase turned the wrong way. The entablement, which has convex edges, is surmounted with battlements, like those seen at the present time on Arabian walls and monuments. There are neither doors nor windows. It is impossible to understand the course of the river that flows at the foot of the monument. It appears to be divided into two parts, since the trunk of a tree which passes before the upper part is seen to terminate in the lower one. Near this trunk a dike seems to extend to a bridge of boats; and it would appear that the artist wished to represent a staircase leading down the monument, or perhaps another bridge of boats extending across the first arm of the river: these last, however, are only conjectures. Besides the trees like cypresses, other very different ones are seen, scattered over the background of the bas-relief; these latter have very stunted trunks and gnarled branches painted red. The branches appear to bear leaves and fruit; at least they have rounded appendages painted blue, and others, more elongated, painted red.

On the next bas-relief we find a hill covered with pines or cy-

presses ; and at the top of the eminence is a kind of altar. This little monument is raised upon a square base : the shaft has six flutings, and the entablature eight ; the whole is crowned in the middle and at the angles with step-like battlements. These details are not unimportant, as they tend to show the similarity between this altar and the one engraved on the Babylonian stone known as the *Caillou de Michaud*, preserved in the Cabinet of Antiquities of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris. Adjoining these sketches of the king and his followers enjoying the toilsome pleasures of the chase, was found a series of sculptures delineating the banquet that awaited the hunters on their return home. The personages are seated upon stools, which do not differ from those previously described ; the tables also are like ; there is only one which merits a separate notice : it is supported by two gazelles' paws intertwined, and is like a French folding-chair.

The next scene in this sculptured history of long by-gone men and their usages, displays what seems to be the chief magistrate sitting in judgment upon criminals.

Two guards with long beards carry the bow and quiver, and hold the mace horizontally in their left hand, while they raise their right, which is shut. The king, attended by his servant, carrying the fly-flapper, and attired in his usual state costume, is seen with a prisoner before him, kneeling, and on whose forehead the king rests the tip of his lance. Two other prisoners, standing behind the first, are stretching forth their hands like supplicants : all have a hook in their lower lip, to which is fixed a cord, whose other extremity is held by the king. On looking at this scene, it is impossible not to recollect an image often employed in the Bible, and especially in the prophecies of Ezekiel (chap. xxix. 4.), where God, addressing one of the Egyptian Pharaohs, says : "And I will put a hook in thy jaws." As far as the dilapidated state of the bas-relief will enable us to judge, these prisoners appear to be clothed in a long robe, fringed at bottom ; their heads are covered with a simple cap, or rather with that kind of cap which is formed of cross-bands, and which we have already often seen. Their hair escapes from under the back part of the cap, and forms a *chignon*, terminated by several rows of curls ; their beards are short, and hang down under the chin in parallel rolls.

Behind the prisoners, and turned towards the king, is the magian, with his right hand opened and raised in the air ; his head, as usual, is bound with a band ornamented with rosettes ; from the band two cords or bandelets, trimmed at the end with fringe, fall down upon his back. Along the bottom of all these persons' gar-

ments there runs a line of inscriptions, and there were, besides, a few lines of writing above the heads of the prisoners.

We have a second view of the king sitting in judgment, in which an eunuch raises his arm, either to beckon forward or to draw on by the beard (for the subject is not quite clear), one of a group of prisoners. These have fetters on their feet; their beards are short and curled; their hair is also short, and they wear calottes; they are dressed in tunics descending only to the knee, and over which they have cloaks made of animals' skins; they have boots with turned-up points. On their heads are some lines of inscriptions, mostly effaced. Another captive is seen, dressed in the same manner, walking with his hands expanded in a supplicating posture. Behind him is a bearded guard dressed in a short tunic, with naked legs, and his arms and wrists encircled with bracelets. He is armed with a bow and sword, and has a quiver suspended to his right shoulder; at least, the pendent tuft of the cloth that covers the bottom of the arrows is perceived.

Another soldier, dressed in the same manner, occupies part of a slab. The group also includes a personage with the scooped-out robe, holding a three-branched flower in his hand.

All these seem to be representations of prisoners in course of trial, or awaiting the execution of their sentences. Soon we have the subsequent scenes; and amongst the first comes a bas-relief shewing that the horrors of the cross were employed by the people of Nineveh.

A bearded personage in a short tunic, who has a rich baldric and spiral bracelets, is seen placed behind a man crucified horizontally, and fastened in this position by the feet and hands. The prisoner is naked; his hair and beard are short; he seems to have round his wrists and legs rings, which are fixed with nails to a wall. But if this were the case, it would then be impossible for the Assyrian guard to be behind him. The guard appears to grasp in his hand a hook or some other curved instrument, with which he holds himself in readiness to flog the man who is crucified.





CHAPTER XII.

RELIGION AND WORSHIP OF THE ASSYRIANS.

AMONG the mingled impressions which a contemplation of the history and monuments of Assyria leave on the mind, one of the strongest and most clear is a sense of the excessively egotistical and imperious character of its people. From Nimrod, whose name is a synonym of disdain, to Sennacherib, who defied both heaven and earth before Jerusalem, the Assyrians appear in history as a domineering and insolent nation. The sculptured walls of their edifices witness to this trait of character; no representations are repeated there so often, or under so many varieties of scene and incident, as those which exhibit the Assyrian as exulting over some fallen antagonist. The subjects of the oldest sculptures of Nineveh are the slaughter of the king of beasts; and the latest efforts of Assyrian art represent the morrow of victory, not so much by triumphal processions, as by the decapitation of captives, and the humiliation of the conquered. The inscriptions hitherto deciphered support this character, and exhibit the Assyrians as the most arrogant and boastful people of the Ancient World.

It is proposed in the following chapter to inquire in what forms of belief and worship the Assyrians reconciled this boundless self-sufficiency with the religious principle of our common nature, and how this proud people acknowledged that subjection to a superior and divine power which no people, barbarous nor civilized, has yet with-

held. On this subject, as on all that concerns Assyria, our knowledge is still but rudimentary, but it is rapidly increasing, and gives promise of approaching harmony and form. The additions which M. Botta and Mr. Layard have made to the materials for a history of Assyrian religion could not have come to us at a more suitable period, when, thanks to Sir William Jones, M. Remusat, and M. Schlegel, and an illustrious corps of French *savans*, we are enabled to contemplate them by the light of Hindhu and Egyptian mythology. The close connection of Assyria with those most ancient nations is one of the most fertile products of scientific research, and gives us good ground to hope that we shall yet be able to contemplate with certainty, from a distance of more than three thousand years, the ancient faith of the post-diluvian world. Meanwhile, taking such aids as we can find, let us proceed to collect and compose the scattered indications of Assyrian belief and worship. We shall not perhaps find a theology, but we may be able to ascertain the elements, tendencies, and spirit of this, by the testimony of tradition, the parent of the ancient human religions.

We have already seen that the monarchy which grew up around Nineveh was established in the age immediately succeeding that of Noah, from whom its founder was only three generations removed. This proximity to the great patriarch determines in a great measure the conditions under which the religion of Assyria would take its rise. To the tribes whose grandsires descended on Mount Ararat from the Ark of the Deluge, the great doctrine of the unity of God, and the chief perfections of the Divine nature, must have been traditionally familiar. It is thus in the highest degree probable that the earliest religion of the land was a simple deism. The analogy of all history, however, makes it equally probable that it continued in this pure form but for an exceedingly brief period. The spiritual character of the Deity rapidly fades from the mind, which seeks to mirror its conceptions in some object more readily apprehensible by the sensuous imagination. Accordingly, an ancient tradition states that Nimrod himself sought such a type of the spiritual attributes of the Deity in fire, which he instructed his people to worship. The negative evidence of the monuments of Nimroud, however, disfavours this tradition, which is internally improbable, being opposed to that slow development which marks the progress of idolatry in every heathen nation which has once declined from the spiritual idea of God. Far more probable is it that the Sabeanism, or the worship of the heavenly host, of which later Assyrian mythology contains so many relics, became at a very early period the prevalent religion of this people, and the original form of their idolatry. While all history, sacred and profane, witnesses to the extreme antiquity of this worship, and assigns its birth-place in the

Assyrian plains, its simplicity and comparative purity make it just such a religion as we should expect to find bridging over the interval between the worship of the true God and the anthropomorphism of later idolatry. It is not to be supposed that when men began to adore the celestial orbs, they wished to forget or deny the existence of a Supreme Being; but, judging humanly, and seeing him not, they began to suspect that he was too high or too distant to concern himself in directing the affairs of this world. They imagined that he must have left these unworthy cares to powers which, although vastly inferior to himself, were incomparably superior to man in nature, and in the condition of their existence; and these they sought and found in the most glorious objects of the universe. Or, if the attributes of the Deity were to be typified—if the apprehensive faculties of man demanded more obvious symbols to convey ideas too abstract to be seized by the unassisted intellect, what more appropriate objects could have been chosen than those bright luminaries whose procession and influences were enveloped in mystery, although they were constantly present? The Arabian Emir Job, whose epoch was probably anterior to that of Moses, early recognised the seductive influence of the impressions of these glorious bodies, as seen in an Eastern firmament:—

“If I beheld the sun when it shined,
Or the moon walking in brightness;
And my heart hath been secretly enticed,
Or my mouth hath kissed my hand;
This also were an iniquity
To be punished by the judges.”

JOB, xxxi. 26-28.

To the Sabeian worshipper, before his religion had become corrupted, the idea of representing God under a human form, or of ascribing to him human wants, or a human will, was abhorrent. When he worshipped, he stood in the virtual presence of his God, and saw with his eyes the actual object of his adoration. He could not conceive that the sun, or the moon, or the planets, which he daily saw dwelling in heaven, could reside on earth in houses built by human hands, or that any spot of earth could be more sacred to them than another, for they shone alike everywhere, and on all. The Sabeian could worship everywhere; best, however, in the open air, and best of all on the highest places, whence the heavenly orbs could be most easily and longest seen. In the open country, it was the hill; in towns, the roof of every man's house was his praying place.

In its known astronomical character, the Assyrian religion was closely allied to that of Egypt; but while the sun was the chief object

of worship on the banks of the Nile, the sun, moon, and stars—"the host of heaven"—were adored by the people of the Chaldean and Assyrian plains:

"The planetary Fire
With a submissive reverence they beheld;
Watched from the centre of their sleeping flocks
Those radiant Mercuries that seemed to move,
Carrying through ether in perpetual round
Decrees and resolutions of the gods;
And, by their aspects, signifying works
Of dim futurity to man revealed."

On the Babylonian cylinders and monuments, the sun, moon, and stars constantly occur, and often seven stars, arranged more in the manner of the Pleiads than the Great Bear, but probably the latter.

It is probable that this simple and direct adoration of the stars soon gave place to a ritual-worship, addressed to beings more earthly and human in their conception. We have the evidence of existing monuments that this decline had taken place when the north-west palace of Nimroud, the oldest yet discovered, was built. Whether the number, character, dominions, and functions of the gods were at this time as fully recognised as we know they were at a later period, is uncertain. We know, however, that Assyrian mythology retained its astral character to the last, and we shall presently see relics of this feature strangely mingled with grosser conceptions of the godhead.

One of the earliest developments of the Sabeian system was the worship of fire—doubtless as a type of the mysterious divine energy. The traditions of the introduction of this worship by Ninus proves that it had, at least, a high antiquity. M. Botta discovered an altar at Khorsabad, constructed in every respect like those used in Persia at a historical epoch when we know that fire-worship was the chief religion of the country. In another sculpture from the same ruins, two eunuchs are seen, standing before an altar, performing some religious ceremony. They bear the square basket carried by the winged figures on the older bas-reliefs. The cone on the altar is painted red, and resembles a lambent flame. In the ruins of Kouyunjik, a curious representation of the same ceremonies has been discovered. Two eunuchs are standing before an altar, on which is the sacred fire, and two serpents are attached to poles, suggesting, by their attitude, the popular representation of the brazen serpent set up by Moses in the wilderness. A bearded figure leads in a goat; but the form and size of the altars do not favour the idea of an intended sacrifice. On cylinders of the same period, emblems and ceremonies of the Assyrian fire-worship are also found, closely resembling those afterwards in use

amongst the Persians. It were easy to call this adoption of a type a corruption of religion; and yet we find that, while the Assyrians were thus worshipping, the Jewish nation were serving the true Deity under a typical system appointed by Himself. And if a symbol of the Divine presence were to be chosen, what more fitting than that under which Jehovah revealed Himself to Moses at the burning bush?

By adopting flame as a sign of the Divine presence, the Assyrians had exchanged the ideal for the symbolic, and henceforth we meet with a variety of constantly-recurring types. Two of these, from their great antiquity, and the prominent position invariably assigned to them in the Nimroud sculptures, merit our earliest notice. They are—the emblem generally known as the small human figure with the wings and tail of a bird, and enclosed in a circle; and the emblem generally known as the sacred tree. Both are found in the oldest Assyrian sculptures yet disinterred.

Of all the mythic forms discovered on the Nimroud bas-reliefs, the winged figure in the circle is the only one to which the king is seen paying direct adoration. This figure might be taken to represent the god of war, since it is generally seen with a bow, which it sometimes holds relaxed in the left hand, and at others bends against the king's enemies; and is, moreover, furnished with the sword or dagger worn in the girdle. It is, however, equally possible that these attitudes may merely represent the guardianship of this deity over the king and nation on occasions of danger. When introduced presiding over a triumph, its right hand is stretched out, as commanding the scene; and when over a religious ceremony, it carries a ring, or extends the right hand and arm. The figure has the same carefully-trimmed beard and bushy curled hair as is found in the larger sculptures, and the head is surmounted by a cap or helm, before which are seen sometimes double and sometimes single horns. Occasionally the human form, and also the circle, are dropped, and the emblem becomes a winged globe or disk, sometimes plain, and sometimes ornamented with leaves, like a flower. It is never represented above any person of inferior rank, but appears to watch over the person of the monarch, who, it may be, was typical of the nation. The king is generally standing or kneeling beneath this emblem, his hand raised as if in prayer.

While the sacred symbol just considered, was always placed over the king's head, the second emblem, the sacred tree, is uniformly found before the worshipper, whether king or priest. The tree in question is purely conventional in its conformation, having no specific resemblance to any known vegetable product. It is adorned with

flowers, sometimes of five petals, and sometimes like those of the Greek honeysuckle. It is represented of every size, and is generally included in a kind of shrine. Mr. Layard, who supposes that the winged figure was the only object of direct worship, presumes that this tree was regarded as a mere type; while Mr. Fergusson imagines that the tree alone was worshipped, and expresses no opinion concerning the winged emblem. There is no reason, however, for supposing that the worship of one excluded the adoration of the other. A dual supremacy is suggested by the male and feminine characters of the idol gods mentioned in the Old Testament, which we know were chiefly those of the Assyrians. When, at the conclusion of this chapter, we attempt to identify the deities of Assyrian worship, we shall adduce reasons which favour the conclusion that these two represented—

“They who, from the bordering flood
Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts
Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names
Of Baal and Ashtaroth; that male,
This feminine.”

This sacred tree is invested with peculiar interest from the light it promises to shed upon one of the darkest, and at the same time most frequent, allusions to the idolatry of Western Asia to be met with in the Old Testament writings. Hitherto, we have had no information, which can be deemed at all satisfactory, respecting the object called in our translation the “grove” or “groves,” which the Israelites are constantly accused of worshipping. Gesenius, perhaps the greatest critical authority that could be quoted, scouts the idea that *Asheerah*, the original Hebrew word, means a grove; he translates it “fortune,” or else, leaving it untranslated, as a proper name, he identifies it with *Ashtarte*, or *Asteroth* the wife of Baal, anything, in short, but grove. The Rev. David Margoliouth, another excellent philologist, states—apparently without being aware of the nature of this Assyrian emblem—that *Asheerah* was a symbolical tree, representing the host of heaven. He translates it by a word which, like the equivalent of Gesenius, means a benefit, but adds that the Jews knew full well that it ought to have remained untranslated as a proper name. The passages in the Bible referring to the worship of the groves equally prove that a group of trees is not referred to, but just such an emblem or idol as this. In Judges, iii. 7, it is said, “The Children of Israel forgot the Lord their God, and served Baalim and the groves;” two coeval objects of worship which could be worshipped in common, are thus presented. The same fact comes out yet more clearly from the following passage:

—The “prophets of Baal four hundred and fifty, and the prophets of the groves four hundred, which sat at Jezebel’s table,” (1 Kings, xviii. 19). In the next passage, the idea of an avenue of trees is grossly incongruous with the incidents with which the groves are associated. “They also built them high places, and images, and groves, on every high hill, and *under every green tree*,” (1 Kings, xiv. 23). It is further said, “They made them molten images, even two calves, and made a grove, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served Baal,” (2 Kings, xvii. 16). The account of Manasseh’s proceedings, contained in the twenty-first chapter of the same book, is still more to our purpose. In the third verse it is said, “He made a grove,” in the seventh verse, “And he set a graven *image of the grove* that he had made in the house,” i.e., in the Temple of Solomon. Josiah afterwards cleared the house of this and other idols, and it is said that he “brought forth out of the Temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven.” If for grove we substitute *Asheerah*, the passages become full of meaning, and we understand the allusion to the sacred vessels brought out by Josiah. In the sixth verse of the twenty-third chapter it is said that Josiah fetched the grove itself out of the temple, burnt it at the brook Kedron, stamped it small to powder, and scattered its dust to the winds, a series of actions in which the example of Moses, when destroying the golden calves, was closely followed. Isaiah says of an Israelite, “He shall not look to the altars, the work of his hands, neither shall he respect that which his fingers have made, either the groves or the images,” (xvii. 8), language utterly without meaning if considered as referring to a group or series of trees, but perfectly intelligible when employed of such a symbol as the present.

A third symbol, one which has been the subject of the most various conjectures, is what Mr. Layard calls the fir-cone. It is seen in the right hand of the winged human and eagle-headed figures, and the priest appears to present it as he stands before the sacred tree. It has been suggested that the oval symbol is not a fir-cone, but an egg, and emblematical of the fertile, vivifying powers of nature, which we know were commonly worshipped in Western Asia, as well as in Europe, and generally in a much grosser representation.

Another type whose signification is full of difficulty is the eagle or vulture-headed human figure. This image is found clothed in a stole falling from the shoulders to the ankles, with a short tunic beneath, descending to the knee, and tastefully decorated with embroidery and fringes. The curved beak is made of considerable length, and is half open, exposing a narrow pointed tongue covered with red paint. A comb of feather rises from the back of the head, and five wings spring

from the back. In either hand is the square vessel and cone. The figure is not only found in colossal proportions on the walls, guarding the portals of the chambers, but it is constantly introduced in groups on the embroidered robes. Mr. Layard thinks that it may be identified with the Nisroch in whose temple Sennacherib was worshipping when slain by his sons, (2 Kings, xix. 27), since the word Nisir signifies in all the Semitic languages an eagle. In support of this opinion, he quotes a passage from the Zoroastrian oracles preserved by Eusebius, where the magian declares that "God is he that hath the head of a *hawk*. He is the first, indestructible, eternal, unbegotten, indivisible, dissimilar; the dispenser of all good, incorruptible; the best of the good, and wisest of the wise; he is the father of equity and justice; self-taught, physical, and perfect, and wise; and the only inventor of the sacred philosophy." It is clear that this description can only apply to the Supreme God, under whatever name worshipped. The Dabistan further contains a passage sufficient to set this question at rest. It is there said, "The image of the Regent Hormuzd (the Supreme God) was of an earthy colour, in the shape of a man, with a vulture's face." Now, if this were all, we need only further ascertain what was the name of the chief god of the Assyrian system, and conclude that this hawk or eagle-headed figure was his image. But, when we come to examine the sculptures, we find even the same figures apparently ministering to the king. The sacred books of the ancients as we have seen, require the existence of the Supreme Deity under a form like this image, and Biblical scholars, long before the discoveries of Mr. Layard, had concluded that in the Assyrian pantheon, the chief god was worshipped under the form of an eagle. It is more probable that we misunderstood the act which Mr. Layard interprets ministerially, than that a form so exactly corresponding to the indications of history and Scripture should deceive us as to its character. Sometimes the head of the eagle is added to the body of a lion on these sculptures. Under this form it is the Egyptian hieraco-sphinx, and is frequently represented as striking down a gazelle or wild-goat. The divine character which we have assigned to the eagle-headed figure is rendered still more probable by the connexion of this eagle-headed lion with the gryphon of the Greek mythology, which was confessedly an Eastern symbol connected with Apollo or with the Sun, of which again the Assyrian form may have been an emblem. Whenever these eagle-headed figures are introduced in conflict with other mythic animals, it is always as conquerors.

The winged human-headed lions and bulls, those magnificent forms which kept the gates of the Assyrian temples, next claim our notice. Not only are these found as separate sculptures, but they are constantly

introduced into the groups embroidered on the robes. Whenever they are represented in contest either with man or with the eagle-headed figure, they appear to be vanquished. Such is also the case on cylinders. Frequently a human figure is seen suspending them by the hind-legs in the air, or striking them with a mace. The winged bull with the human head was evidently a purely Assyrian type. What was its position in the religious system we can only infer from the analogy of other religions. The compound nature of these forms place them in nearer relation with the andro-sphinx than with the Egyptian Apis. Types of the union of great intellectual and physical powers they certainly were; but their position with reference to other symbolical figures would point to an inferiority in the celestial hierarchy. The sphinx, as an architectural ornament, occupies nearly the same position in the edifices of Assyria and Egypt, being placed at the entrances to temples and palaces. Here, although not the objects of direct adoration, they probably awed and instructed the successive races who passed before them. All nations who have attained to a certain degree of civilization have confessed and utilized the influence of architecture and sculpture over the religious feelings in disposing the mind to awe and reverence; and what more sublime forms than these could have been borrowed from nature by men who sought, unaided by the light of revelation, to embody their great natural conceptions of a Supreme Being? They looked for a type of spiritual power, and chose the human head; of strength, and took the body of the lion or the bull; of ubiquity, and found it in the wings of the bird.

The likeness between the symbolical figures now described and those seen by Ezekiel in his vision, is too striking not to be noticed. The prophet had himself been a captive in the land of Assyria. The Chebar on which he prophesied—whether it can be identified with the Khabour of the Arabs, flowing through the plains of Mesopotamia, and falling into the Euphrates, or with another river of the same name which joins the Tigris above Mosul—was certainly in the neighbourhood of Nineveh. He had beheld the Assyrian palaces, with their mysterious images and gorgeous decorations, and addressed his language to those whose recollections were similar to his own. It was, therefore, quite natural that, when he sought to typify certain divine attributes, and to describe the divine glory, images and forms should occur to his mind derived from the scenes among which he dwelt. Ezekiel saw in his vision the likeness of four living creatures, which had four faces, four wings, and the hands of a man under their wings on their four sides. Their faces were those of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle, precisely the four forms constantly found on Assyrian monuments as religious types. When the prophet, who pro-

bably witnessed the destruction of Nineveh, would describe the power of the same people after the rise of the Babylonian kingdom, he represents it under the figure of an eagle—a most fitting type, if, as we have supposed, that bird was the chief symbol of the Assyrian god. Predicting the attack on Jerusalem, he says—"Thus saith the Lord, A great eagle, with great wings, long-winged, full of feathers, which had divers colours, came to Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar," &c. (xvii. 3); and, in the 12th verse, tells the people that Babylon is the power thus symbolized. The book of Daniel, who was also familiar with the Assyrian sacred types, teems with descriptions of those curious animal and human combinations.

The peculiar usages of the Assyrians with respect to proper names will be a sufficient reason for not attempting to restore a mythological system, complete in the number and relations of its deities, from the names of Assyrian gods which have come down to us in the Bible. Many such are mentioned: Assarac, Adramalech, Anamelech, Nebo, Nisroch, Merodach, Chiun, and Nemphan. These, as well as many names of goddesses, found in the same record, were denominations employed, in different parts of the Assyrian empire, by people speaking various dialects, and may, probably, be different appellations of the same supreme deity. Major Rawlinson has shown, in his paper on Assyrian inscriptions, strong reasons for considering Assarac and Nisroch to be one and the same. He has since found inscriptions on the oldest palace commencing with this formula—"This is the palace of Sardanapalus, the humble worshipper of Assarach." He supposes that this was the original proper name of the chief deity of the Assyrian pantheon. Mr. Layard conjectures that he was called Baal, or some modification of that name, which is that of the great god amongst nearly all nations speaking the cognate dialects of a Semitic or Syro-Arabian language. There is nothing inconsistent in these two suppositions. Baal, signifying lord, may have been a name of office or position, so to speak; by the word Assarac, he may have been connected with the Eponymus Assar; and the name Nisroch may have been conferred when the hawk or eagle-headed symbol was adopted. Other names may have been attributed, in the course of ages, to the same ideal being by the many dynasties that successively occupied the Assyrian throne.

At present there appears to be no good reason for supposing that the supreme lordship of Great Baal was questioned in Assyria. To him as Baal, Nisroch, or Saturn, we ascribe both the winged figure in the circle and the eagle-headed winged figure. In the first he is represented as the dispenser of human fate, in the second as the beneficent author of all good. As the supreme deity, Baal came to be

identified with the Sun, when that commingling of Sabeanism and idol-worship took place, of which we have so many traces in the Assyrian mythology; in the same character, he is called Lord of Heaven, and represented by a radiant disk.

We encounter fewer difficulties when we come to inquire into the nature of the female names in the Assyrian theological system. We at once identify Ashtaro, Mylitta, and Alitta,

“ Whom the Phœnicians called
Astarte, Queen of Heaven, with crescent horns,
To whose bright image, nightly by the moon,
Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs,”

with the Asheerah uniformly associated in Scripture with Baal.

The title, Queen of Heaven, which Milton employs, is one under which she is often mentioned in the sacred volume. The planet which bore her name was sacred to her, and in the Assyrian sculptures a star was placed on her head. She was called Beltis, because she wore the female form of the great divinity Baal, the two, there is reason to believe, having been originally one or androgyne. A bas-relief found at Malthaiyah, near Mósul, represents her standing on a lion, well draped. On Assyrian cylinders of later date, she is represented disrobed, and in a wanton attitude. The worship of this goddess, the *magna mater* as she was considered, formed, according to the testimony of Scripture and ancient authors, a most prominent part of the religious system of all the Semitic nations, and especially of the Assyrians. The symbols which accompany her leave no doubt that the reproductive principle was worshipped at Nineveh under the most degrading forms. The sacred tree, the “grove” of Scripture, is most likely the emblem of this goddess, and, with the winged figure, make up that double symbolism which the twofold character of the original Baal, and the separate and coeval dualism of the later theology, seem to require.

The representation in a human form of the celestial bodies, themselves originally but a type, was a corruption which appears to have crept at a late period into the mythology of Assyria. In the more ancient bas-reliefs, figures with caps surmounted by stars do not occur, and the sun, moon, and stars stand alone. M'Cullimore, in his work on Babylonian cylinders, has given engravings of a god with four wings, each terminating in a star; and another of a god seated on a throne, with eight stars all around him. The identity of Nimrod and the constellation Orion seems to countenance the suspicion that the Assyrians had strangely blended Sabeanism, hero-worship, and idolatry in their religion. The Greeks, who borrowed most

largely from the Assyrians both in art and religion, may have derived their conception of this god, as they did the Indian Bacchus, from the traditions of the great hunter. Homer, describing the heroes seen by Ulysses, when he descended to the shades, says :—

“There huge Orion of portentous size,
Swift through the gloom, a giant hunter flies,
A ponderous mace of brass, with direful sway,
Aloft he whirls to crush the savage prey,
Stern beasts in troops that by his truncheon fell,
Now grisly forms shoot o’er the plains of hell.”

The objects of divine adoration among the Assyrians have hitherto occupied our attention. We come now to examine the place, form, and spirit of the worship offered to these divinities. We are accustomed to speak of the magnificent mansions of Khorsabad and Nimroud now as temples and now as palaces, and the varying expression denotes the vagueness of our conceptions of their true character. When we speak of a Greek or Roman temple, there is no ambiguity about the term employed. It was a building simple in plan and outline, meant to contain the image of the god to whom it was consecrated, and was wholly devoted to the religious services connected with the prescribed worship of that deity. A Christian Church, in like manner, was in all ages wholly devoted to religious worship; a hall, in short, where people might congregate under the distinct idea that it was the house of God, sacred to the purposes of religion, and, withal, a fit place in which to offer prayer and service. In like manner, the palace in all the countries of Europe is, and always has been, merely a large house. It possesses the same apartments for eating, sleeping, and receiving company, as the houses of the middle and even the lower classes, larger, more numerous, and splendid, of course, but dedicated to the same uses. But in the splendid edifices of Nimroud we certainly find no idol; we have sculptured representations of religious worship, but the symbol by which the deity was adored only forms part of a pictorial scene.

The stranger, entering for the first time the abode of the Assyrian king, was ushered in through the portal guarded by the colossal lions or bulls of white alabaster. In the first hall he found himself surrounded by the sculptured records of the empire. Battles, sieges, triumphs, the exploits of the chase, the ceremonies of religion, were portrayed on the walls. Above, the sculptured paintings were executed, in which the king was seen receiving prisoners, making alliances, or engaged in some sacred duty. At the upper end of the hall the king was again beheld, this time in a colossal form, adoring the su-

preme deity, attended by priests or inferior divinities, his robes adorned with groups of flowers, or animals, all painted in the brightest colours. Beneath his feet the stranger saw alabaster slabs, each with its inscription, declaring the titles, genealogy, and achievements of the king. Doorways, formed by gigantic winged lions or bulls, led into other apartments, and then again into more distant halls. The ceiling above him was divided into square compartments painted with flowers or animals. The beams and sides of the chamber were often gilded, or even plated, with gold and silver, and the wood-work was sometimes covered with costly cedar. Apertures, probably in the side-walls near the ceiling of the chambers, admitted the diffused and reflected light, which gave a majestic expression to the human features of the colossal forms which guarded the entrances.

Such were the glorious ancient mansions whose character remains so mysterious and uncertain. They contained no god, so far as is at present known, and they were certainly the residences of the kings. They do not, therefore, correspond to the modern idea of a temple. And yet these were the religious edifices of the Assyrians, or else we must conclude that these exceedingly religious people were without such buildings. It will help us to a solution of this difficulty if we look a little closer at the character of the king. In modern days, a king is a chief magistrate, in the middle ages he was a leader; and neither Greece nor Rome ever had a king in the Asiatic sense of the word, at least certainly not after Rome had ceased to be Etruscan. But in Persia, Syria, and indeed throughout the East, not only were all the attributes of government appropriated by the king, but he was also the chief priest of his people, and head of the religion of his country. We should have a far more just idea of the character of this personage if we called him Caliph, or, by permission, Pope, instead of King. A very cursory glance at the Nimroud sculptures will establish the sacred character of the ruler. The winged figures, probably intended to denote priests, minister to him; the emblem of the chief divinity is above his head, and his only. All his acts, in war and in peace, appear to have been connected with the national religion, and were believed to be under the special protection and superintendence of the Deity. When he is represented in conflict, the winged figure hovers above his head, bends the bow against his enemies, or assumes with him an attitude of triumph. His contests with formidable animals are designed to typify his superior skill and wisdom, while they denote his strength and prowess. In victory, he pours out a libation into the sacred cup. The embroideries upon his robes have all mythic meanings, and even his weapons, bracelets, and ornaments bear the figure of the sacred animals. Now, with this perfect identification of the monarch with the

religion of the country, residence in the temple, or, in other words, the sacred character of his palace, perfectly agrees, and is just what we might expect. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that he may have been regarded, as in Egypt, as the earthly type or representative of the Deity, receiving his power directly from the gods, and the organ of communication between them and his subjects. Thus regarded, the residence of this pontiff united the palace, the temple, and a national monument of triumph and conquest.

Perhaps this view may throw some light upon the character to be assigned to the winged animal figures, which guarded the entrance to the temple-palaces. Throughout all Pagan mythology, the lion and the bull are the emblems respectively of royalty and power, and their allegorical relation to the king, himself a sacerdotal personage, may have clothed them with something of that religious character which there is every reason to believe they sustained.

We have now seen the various stages of Assyrian idolatry, both the simple star-worship on the plain or mound, and the grosser, but still ideal religion of the fire-worshipper, as he offered his prayers and thanksgiving before a simple altar and a lambent flame. We have at a later period arrived at a worship of a form of human invention, which partook of the human likeness, in the adoration paid to the winged and tailed figure in the circle; and we seem to have a glance at a complete development of anthropomorphism in the figures standing among the stars, represented in the Assyrian cylinders. The original astronomical character of the theology is preserved through this long procession of idolatry. It is still the Lord of Heaven, the same that we trace in Baal, Assarac, or Adramalech; it is still the Queen of Heaven that rules under the various names of Beltis, Astaroth, Ashecrah, or Astarte. The image of the sun is in the king's hand when he stands beneath the image of the deity, and the moon and stars glitter in his ornaments as he stands before the sacred tree.



ASSYRIAN HELMETS.

CHAPTER XIII.

ASSYRIAN ART, INDUSTRY, DRESS, ORNAMENTS, AND EQUIPAGES.

THE most striking fact we have relative to Assyrian art and industry is our knowledge of the perfection to which the art of sculpture had attained in Nineveh, at an epoch which cannot possibly be more recent than centuries before the Christian era, and which in all probability is much more remote. Upon the character of the sculpture let us first proceed to make a few observations.

Assyrian art appears altogether distinct from that of every other contemporary people, although some resemblance may certainly be found in the first essays of all nations. Man is everywhere the same, and everywhere he must have followed pretty well the same course when endeavouring to represent, by the means of painted or sculptured imitations, the objects that he beheld, or the important events which he wished to hand down to posterity. In those ages of simplicity and ignorance, too, man's superstitious instincts ruled without dispute; and we must not, therefore, be astonished if, in some points, the sculpture of Nineveh reminds us of that of Egypt or of the first ages of Greece, without appearing, on that account, less original.

From the very beginning of their attempts, the Greek sculptors knew how to appreciate and represent physical beauty; no conventional rules stopped them in the route they were destined to follow; they quickly freed themselves from the bonds which shackled them, and only retained such of the conventional forms as were calculated to add to the perfection of nature, without idealising it too much. The Egyptians, on the contrary, tied down by a system of theocracy which regulated every action of their life, could never shake off the prescribed rules; their sculpture was always influenced by them, and their productions, even in the time of the Romans, are but imperfect

copies of the works executed during the reign of the most ancient Pharaohs. Thus, at the present day, the painters who decorate the Greek or Armenian churches bend to consecrated rules or habits, and are content to copy and reproduce the old Byzantine types in all their stiffness and *naïve* simplicity.

As we now behold Assyrian art, it is exactly intermediary between the Grecian and the Egyptian; preserving, in a greater degree than the former, the conventional and hieratic forms, without bowing to their yoke like the latter, which it greatly surpasses by a more careful study of nature. By comparing the modes and details of execution, the reader will easily be convinced of the truth of these assertions, and appreciate the degrees of relative perfection in the art of these three nations.

The Egyptians, like all other people in their infancy, attached importance to the exterior line only, to the silhouette of the objects they wished to represent: in their paintings and sculptures they made simple strokes of astonishing boldness and distinctness, by which both proportions and action were rendered with great perfection. But here their science stopped; and in later times, as in the most remote, they never thought of completing these silhouettes by an exact representation of the anatomical details; their finest statues are, in this respect, as defective as their bas-reliefs and paintings. Wishing, besides, first in their primitive and then in their conventional *naïveté*, to make every thing apparent which seemed capable of rendering a figure easily recognised, they never failed to represent in profile certain parts of objects, and particularly of animals, which ought, from the attitude, to have been represented in full; and *vice versa*. Thus, human bodies seen in profile would have appeared incomplete to them, and so they always placed them full face, doing the contrary with respect to the feet, which they seemed to understand easier in profile; in drawing a cow, they always represented the side, but never failed, however, to give the two horns, though one must have been hidden while the animal was in this position. The rules of perspective are not better observed: all the necessary details for characterising objects are always made visible, even when they could not be regularly perceived. Lastly, always sacrificing the truth to the desire of hiding nothing of what, in their eyes, appeared the most important, the Egyptian sculptors have carefully avoided crossing the figures by accessory objects which would have hidden any part of them; for the same reason they have, in their representations of battles, given larger proportions to the conquerors than to the conquered.

Most of these characteristics are found in Assyrian art as well;

but they are less strongly marked, and the careful observer can perceive that the art is emerging from its state of infancy. The bodies are no longer all full face, if we may so express it, and have less conventional stiffness. The figures consist no more of mere outlines; the heads are well modelled; and the anatomical details of the limbs, the bones and muscles, are not only accurately indicated, but rendered with evident exaggeration, as if the artists, who were beginning to feel the value of these hitherto neglected details, wished to put them prominently forward, even at the expense of truth. The reader need only compare some Egyptian figures in the British Museum with some of the Assyrian bas-reliefs in the same establishment, to convince himself how superior the latter are as representations of real life; but, on the other hand, they are decidedly inferior in justness of proportion and purity of drawing. In the Assyrian bas-reliefs, the figures are generally too short, and the artist has not always succeeded in endowing them distinctly enough with animation.

In both schools animals were represented with more fidelity than men. The reason of this is, doubtless, that in this branch of his art the sculptor was not shackled by rules or prejudices of so precise a description; but even in these cases we meet with a deeper study of nature at Nineveh than in Egypt. Let any one compare the small Assyrian bronze lion and the bodies of the winged bulls with similar animals sculptured on the banks of the Nile, and it will be seen how much the former are superior to the latter. The muscles and bones of these symbolic bulls are admirably modelled, although, it is true, a little exaggerated; but as to the little statue of the lion, the Greeks and Romans have most certainly produced many works which are very far from equalling it. Since we are again mentioning these human-headed bulls, let us mark a peculiarity which proves how tenacious these ancient sculptors were of having the objects they represented appear perfect from whatever point they were contemplated; for this purpose, they gave these animals five legs, in order that, whether seen in profile or in full, they should leave nothing for the mind of the spectator to supply.

It is, therefore, by a more exact study of nature, and by a greater attention to fidelity of form, that Assyrian art appears to surpass the Egyptian, the perfection of which in other respects it does not reach. In these same qualities, too, it resembles Grecian art; and on the bas-reliefs at Nineveh may be seen, as it were, the first essays of that system which, brought to a state of perfection by an intelligent people, deeply enamoured of physical beauty, produced the *chefs d'œuvre* leagued to us by Hellenic antiquity. There is, however, between these two schools the whole distance which separates

the results obtained by the first timid efforts of a novice from the perfection attained by genius favoured by the most fortunate circumstances; and whatever partiality we may entertain for Assyrian art, we are far from putting it on a footing of equality with that of Phidias and Praxiteles.

After having compared the art of the Assyrians with that of contemporary nations, it will not perhaps be out of place to compare it also with that of a people who succeeded them in the empire of the world—the ancient Persians.

The sculpture of Persepolis is seen accurately in the drawings and plaster casts at present at Paris, and these are sufficient to show its characteristics. The Persians certainly borrowed this art from their predecessors the Assyrians, but it only degenerated in their hands. There is the same difference between the bas-reliefs of Persepolis and those of Khorsabad as between the Egyptian bas-reliefs sculptured in the time of the Ptolemies and those of an anterior age; the falling off is the same in both cases. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to look at the figure of a man leading a horse, modelled at Persepolis; it will then be seen, that if the school of sculpture is the same as at Nineveh, the drawing is less pure and the forms heavier, while the anatomical details are altogether wanting or badly indicated; it is, in fact, but a clumsy imitation of immeasurably superior models.

Though the sculpture of the Assyrians was in some respects superior to that of the Egyptians, and though it incontestably surpassed that of the Persians, their architecture, judging from our present knowledge of it, was much inferior to that of both these people. While describing the edifices found by Layard and Botta, we cannot fail to remark how much the simplicity of their construction contrasted with the richness of their decorations; mud walls, covered with sculptured slabs of gypsum, and a roof probably made of wood. How meagre! This poverty at Nineveh could not be owing, as at Babylon, to the want of solid materials proper for building. Besides, when it is seen that the Egyptians have fetched and worked immense blocks of the hardest substances, it cannot be supposed that the Assyrians, who were more numerous and powerful, could not have used the same means; and it becomes most difficult to account for their relative inferiority with respect to architecture. Perhaps it is only apparent, and after discoveries may possibly yet shew us that architectural art at Nineveh had made as much progress as other arts.

The edifices discovered by Layard in the mound of Nimroud are of precisely the same character as that at Khorsabad, and are built

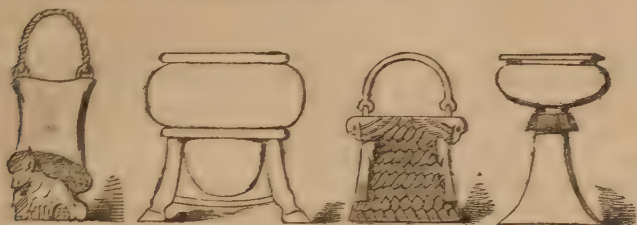
in the same manner. It has, no doubt, been remarked that the external and internal bas-reliefs bore evident traces of colours. The Assyrians, then, employed the style of decoration which appears to have been used by all the people of antiquity; and we ought, besides, to have expected to find it at Nineveh, for the Bible expressly mentions it in a passage which seems to be a description of the sculptures that we have seen. The apostacy of Jerusalem is compared with the debaucheries of a painted courtesan (Ezekiel xxii. 14, 15). This remarkable piece of evidence, added to the traces of colour still subsisting, proves without doubt that the Assyrians were accustomed to paint their bas-reliefs. But another important question now presents itself. We did not find on the sculptures of Khorsabad any colours but red, blue, and black, and these merely on the hair, the beards, and a few accessories. Must we, in the first place, believe that these were the only colours employed, and, in the second, that they were only used in those places where we found their traces, while the remaining portions of the figures and the background of the bas-reliefs were entirely colourless? We are without facts to enable us to give a decided answer; but it appears probable that the colours were more varied, and that the whole surface of the bas-reliefs was covered with them. Thus, on the enamelled bricks there are other tints than red, blue, and black: we found yellow, white, green, &c.; and there is no reason why the Assyrians should have used these latter colours to enamel their bricks, and not have employed them to paint their sculptures. It is much more natural to suppose that the portions not at present coloured were coloured formerly, and that this was done with some substances which, being less lasting than the others, had been destroyed, either by fire at the time of the conflagration, or by time and the elements. This, however, is but a conjecture; and, consequently, not wishing to have any thing hypothetical introduced into this work, Botta insisted that, in restoring the façades and the chambers, no colour should be employed where he had perceived none. M. Flandin would have acted otherwise, because he believed that he had found a proof of the former colouring of the whole surface of the slabs, and principally of the figures. The following are his reasons for this belief. They had found at Khorsabad a head, on which not only was the black colour of the hair and the beard perfectly preserved, but there was, besides, a yellowish crust spread over the whole surface. Flandin thought that this yellow tint had been purposely applied to represent the colour of the flesh. Botta examined this fragment carefully at Khorsabad before packing it up, and afterwards at Paris, where it is at present; and it appeared certain to him that

the bistre tone of the surface was purely accidental. The head was bound with a red band, part of which had been carried away; a portion also of the cheek was wanting. Now the places thus left empty by the missing fragments were covered with the same yellow crust as the face itself. This would not be the case had the colour been purposely applied, for then there would have been none in the mutilated parts. It cannot be said, either, that these mutilations existed at the time that the stone was sculptured, and that the places in question were painted like the rest of the head, because, in that case, the broken portion of the band would have been painted red, and not yellow. It is most likely, therefore, that this tint was accidental, and that it was owing to some incrustation or other—a supposition which is rendered still more probable by the unequal and wrinkled surface of these portions of the face. This fragment, however, is at present in the Museum at Paris, and the colours have not been injured by the voyage. *Savants* and artists can examine it for themselves, and decide to their own satisfaction the point in dispute.

It is unnecessary to assert the perfection of the arts at Nineveh, since we have just seen the proof of it; yet we must call attention to the splendour of the costumes, the richness of the ornaments, and the good taste of the details, because these facts are new to us. We can now better understand what the Sacred Books say of the splendour of the court of the Assyrian kings, and the effect that it must have produced on the Hebrew people. But let us give a few details on this head, and pass in review what these newly-revealed facts have taught us.

We have already remarked that the architecture of the palaces of Nineveh was not so perfect as that of Egypt at the same epoch; yet it is not the less certain that the Assyrians, by the dimensions of their buildings and the richness of their decorations, equalled, if not surpassed, all that the various people of antiquity ever built. The *ensemble* of their edifices must have been as imposing as it was magnificent; and the effect that must have been produced by their paintings and sculptures well corresponds to the idea given by the descriptions in the Bible of the court of the kings of Assyria. Their furniture, by the richness of its nature, differed completely from what is now seen in the East; for the Assyrians used arm-chairs or stools, and ate, like us, off tables: the representation of the banquets allows of no doubt with respect to this. The tables and chairs were ornamented with as much richness as taste, and, what is very singular, with the same objects as our own furniture is now—that is, with lions' feet, animals' heads, &c. These models might be studied

and copied at present with advantage. The vases of different kinds were not less remarkable by their elegance.



The dresses also, at least those of the personages attached to the court, furnish us with the proof of a state of great luxury; they were generally ample and flowing, but differed in form from those of the Egyptians and the Persians. They consisted of tunics or robes varying in length, of mantles of diverse shapes, of long fringed scarves, and of embroidered girdles. Ornaments were scattered with profusion over these dresses, some of which appear to have been emblematical of certain dignities or employments. Thus the double mantle with the points thrown over the shoulders is never worn except by the king, and that on state occasions only. This principal personage, too, is the only one who wears the pointed tiara, which resembles in shape the Persian cap of the present day. Other shaped head-



dresses were appropriated to the priests, or, perhaps, to the symbolic personages, who alone wear the robe scooped out in front, and the tiara girt with horns. The eunuchs, who, as might have been expected from the frequent mention of them in Holy Writ, appear so often, always wear the long robe, and have nothing different from the guards or from the principal personages.

Like all Orientals, the Assyrians appear to have taken extreme care of their beard, which, to judge by the bas-reliefs, they allowed to grow long, and arranged in so regular a manner, that the representations of it might almost be regarded as merely conventional. Their hair was not less carefully attended to, and was always gathered up on the shoulders in an enormous *chignon* formed of regular rows of curls. Their eyelids, according to the ancient and universal custom of the East, were stained black with *kohl*. Their arms and wrists were encircled with bracelets of various forms, but always very graceful and of the purest taste. The men also wore ear-rings varying in the richness of their design, but most of which might serve even in the present day as models for similar ornaments.

In some things, Assyrian industry had attained a high degree of perfection. They were able to work the hardest as well as the softest substances, with a view to their employment in building or other purposes. This is proved by the jasper or crystal cylinders, and by the bas-reliefs sculptured on gypsum or siliceous basalt. They were acquainted with glass and various kinds of enamels. They could bake clay for bricks or vases, the quality of the clay varying in fineness according to the purpose for which the vases were intended. Thus the bricks employed in building were simply burnt in the sun or slightly baked, so as to remain tolerably soft, while those intended for paving were excessively hard. Thus, again, the large funereal urns were of but middling consistency; while, on the contrary, the cylinders of baked clay on which were any inscriptions were manufactured out of a very fine and very hard kind of earth. Lastly, the art of varnishing pottery, and covering it with paintings by means of coloured enamels, was known at Nineveh.

The Assyrians were also acquainted with the art of founding, of working, and even hammering out various metals. This branch of manufactures had acquired great perfection among them, as can be seen by the little statue of the bronze lion, the nails, calf's head, &c. The metal most frequently used appears to have been copper, as was the case with all people of antiquity: this fact is easily accounted for, with respect to Mesopotamia, by the proximity of the celebrated mines of Argana-Maaden, situated near Diarbekir, in the lesser chains of the mountains that border the plain on the north. These mines, even now, not only supply the whole of the Ottoman empire, but considerable quantities of metal are also exported from them. Iron appears to have been used more rarely; but this metal oxydizes quicker than copper, and cannot resist a long sojourn underground; it is perhaps on this account that it was rarely used for the fabrication of those objects to which it is fitted. Lead was evidently known

to the Assyrians, for the bronze lion was fastened with this metal to the stone which formed its base. It is now known that there are lead mines in the mountains of Kurdistan, at a little distance from Mosul.

The highly-finished façade upon which we have had so frequently to draw for illustrations of the manners of the Assyrians, will supply us with ample instruction on the subject of their modes of dress. We cannot do better than follow the actual order of the bas-reliefs.

On the right side of the door, of which we have before spoken, begins a series of figures, which is spread over the south-west side of the building, and continued on the north-west side of the wing at angles with it. The bas-relief represents two beardless personages, who are standing behind the king in almost every instance that he appears; they were similar figures which, from the roundness of the features, and the absence of any beard, might, at first sight, be mistaken for women, but who are intended, in fact, to represent eunuchs. One of those represented here holds in his right hand a fly-flapper over the head of the king, who is placed before him in the following bas-relief; in his left hand he has a bandelet, or perhaps a handkerchief, destined for his master. Behind this eunuch there is another carrying, probably, the insignia of royalty—the bow, the quiver, and a mace or sceptre.

These two eunuchs, like all those we shall subsequently see, are dressed in the same manner. In the first place, they wear a long tunic drawn tight round the neck, and falling down to their ankles; the sleeves terminate above the elbow. The bottom of this tunic is richly ornamented; it has a border of rosettes contained in squares, while from it hangs down a row of tassels or tufts, very similar in their arrangements to that of the trimmings of furniture now-a-days. This kind of fringe is itself terminated by three rows of little balls, intended, no doubt, to represent pearls or ornaments of that description. On the feet are open sandals, embracing the heel, and leaving the metatarsus and toes exposed.

Above the tunic is thrown a broad scarf, from which hangs a long fringe, which reaches the knees, where it terminates in an even line, leaving the remainder of the tunic exposed as far as the lower border. This scarf crosses the back and the breast, passing over the right shoulder and under the left arm. As it is oblique, the fringe which hangs down from it ought, if it were everywhere of equal length, to hang obliquely as well; and we find this to be the case, for one row of fringe which seems to be superficial, but from beneath this hangs down another row, and terminates horizontally about the knees. It must therefore be admitted, that two sets of fringe are attached to the scarf,

the upper one being of an equal length all the way, and the lower one, on the contrary, increasing in width as the scarf rises towards the right shoulder. The latter set of fringe seems to be fastened to the girdle, which appears above the scarf on the loins of the eunuch carrying the fly-flapper. This is the simplest manner of explaining these two layers of fringe, one of which terminates obliquely and the other horizontally. Be this as it may, however, this kind of shoulder-belt is always richly embroidered; that of the eunuch carrying the quiver, has three lines of rosettes in squares; that of the other eunuch has three rows of concentric squares.

The hair of these personages, like that of all Assyrian figures, is arranged in a most curious manner: it appears carefully combed down upon the head, but spreads out upon the neck into a sort of *chignon*, formed of a mass of curls which rest upon the shoulders. We shall often meet with this style of wearing the hair, which latter, in all cases where the colour has been preserved, is always painted black.

The ornaments of these two eunuchs are alike; they have each two pairs of bracelets, one pair at the wrist and the other round the arm; those round the arm are spirals formed of wires and attached to one another by other wires. The bracelets of the wrists also are composed of a parcel of wires, but they are not spirals; they form circles, broken by lions' heads, the muzzles of which touch.

Besides these ornaments for the arms, the eunuchs of the bas-reliefs wear others, which seem to have been very general among the Assyrians—they have ear-rings. They are rather simple, but, like all Assyrian ear-rings, their shape somewhat resembles a cross. To the ring is fixed a stem more or less ornamented, while two lateral branches, the form of which varies, branch off either from the stem or the ring itself.

The objects which the first eunuch holds are a fly-flapper and a kind of bandelet. The fly-flapper, like the parasol, appears to have anciently been one of the insignia of royalty in the East. The handle terminates at the bottom with a lion's head; at the upper extremity it spreads out into a kind of flower with numerous sharp petals. This flower seems the same one that we shall often see, either in the king's hand or in the hands of others. From this flower there springs out a tuft of feathers. The bandelet, which is held by the eunuch in the other hand, grows wider towards the bottom, and terminates in fringe that is painted red; it is double, or rather folded in two, and the handle thus formed goes round the thumb.

The other eunuch carries weapons: the bow is slung on the left arm, and appears angular rather than curved, its two extremities terminating in birds' heads, emblematic probably of the rapidity of the

arrows; in this bas-relief the bow is painted red. The quiver is hung under the left arm, by a band which passes over the shoulder, and is subsequently fixed to two rings. Judging by a detailed sketch of the ornaments with which the quiver was covered, its form appears to have been square. A series of broken lines borders the lower extremity, while at the opposite one are seen the feathered shafts of the arrows. Along the upper side is a kind of beading, formed of wires bound together at intervals by other wires. The end of this sort of cord extends beyond the feathers of the arrows, and is terminated by a ball surmounted with a little flower, of which we have a specimen on the handle of the fly-flapper. It is difficult to say with certainty what this cord was, but probably it is nothing else than a parcel of bowstrings intended to be at hand in case of need. The ornaments of this quiver and the little tassels which adorn it were painted red. The mace has a cylindrical handle; the head is formed by a ball surmounted by a crown and the jaws of a lion; the hilt is thinner than the other part of the handle, and appears to have been encircled with thin cord, in order that it might afford a firmer hold. There is also at this extremity a loop, intended to be passed round the wrist and thus prevent the weapon's escaping from the grasp. The existence of this appendage induces the belief that this stick was used as a weapon, for, without it, we should have been at liberty to suppose that it was a sceptre.

Opposite the king, on the same bas-relief, there stands another bearded personage whose right hand is opened and raised, while the left rests upon his sword hilt. The hair and beard of this person, who has been termed a magian, are precisely similar to those of the king. The head is bare, but, in spite of its present ruined condition, it is plain that it was surrounded by a band, from which, as from the king's tiara, two red fillets, terminated by fringes, descend.

The dress of the magian is exactly similar to that of the eunuchs before described. It consists of a large tunic, fringed at the bottom, and with short sleeves; above this a broad scarf, with long hanging fringes, is cast obliquely over the left shoulder. The scarf is edged with a triple series of little rosettes placed in squares, and very evidently, like the fringes, passing over the sword, to which it acted, perhaps, as a baldrick. The sandals are similar to the king's, except merely that they are painted blue.

The ear-rings are much effaced, though we are still able to discover that they were shaped nearly in the form of a cross. A circle, adorned with three large rosettes, forms the bracelets for the wrists; those for the arms are spirals of wire. The sword hilt is exceedingly rich; at the top of it is a hemisphere, and then a ball between two

flat disks; lastly, the two upper jaws of a lion, placed near each other, embrace the blade, and terminate the hilt at the point where it presses against the opening of the sheath.

In another bas-relief we have a eunuch clothed like the preceding ones. There is a difference, however, in a few details. The handle of the sword is similar to that of the king: that is, at the top of the scabbard it is ornamented with two lion's paws embracing the blade; further, it does not appear to be suspended to the scarf, under which it passes, as usual, but seems to have a peculiar belt passing over the right shoulder. On the breast are seen the remains of a band, ornamented with three wide rows of pearls; the middle row is broken from time to time by round plates formed by these globules or pearls. This eunuch has his right hand raised in the air, and appears to be beckoning on some personages who follow.

We now meet with figures bringing presents to the king, to whom they are directing their steps, summoned or introduced



by the eunuch just mentioned. On this bas-relief there are two eunuchs, dressed, like all we have as yet seen, in a long tunic with a long-fringed scarf. The first one is carrying two hemispherical vases without any ornament. The second is likewise carrying two vases, but of a totally different form; they are cylindrical, terminated at the bottom by a lion's head, and furnished with a moveable handle, which is fixed to the edge by two rings. On considering the undulated outlines of these latter vases, and how little fitted is the head, which forms the bottom, to serve as base, it would seem that they were really the necks of young lions, the skin of which was tanned, and the mouth closed up in some manner or other, to render them fit to contain liquids. There is one thing certain, and that is, that the outlines of these singular vases are precisely such as a cylindrical vessel of

flexible leather would take, when partly filled with fluid, and supported by a stiff handle fixed to two points of the opening.

This supposition has nothing absurd in it, since, in the East, even at the present day, skins and leather bottles are commonly used to send wine in, or to cool water, according as they are or are not permeable.

These personages offer nothing remarkable, with the exception of their bracclets, which are of a shape we have not yet met with. Those round their wrists are simple rings, not soldered, and even half open. Exactly similar ones may be seen at the present day on the arms of Arab women.

In another bas-relief we have two eunuchs going towards the king, like the preceding ones, and carrying on their shoulders a car, or rather arm-chair, placed upon two wheels. The following is the manner in which this sort of carriage is constructed:—The back is straight, and rises above the arm, which seems round, and is bent in such a manner as to join the anterior leg, which is square. Between the arm and the seat, there are three little bearded figures, wearing a sort of tiara, garished at the side with double bulls' horns. Between the seat and a cross bar which connects the back-leg with the front one, is the little figure of a horse richly caparisoned, who seems to push forward with his chest the leg against which he leans. The bar on which he stands is covered with ornaments resembling *fleur-de-lis*, placed base to base, and thus connected by a ligature; and lastly, the legs terminate in a conical mass formed of rows of scales, like those of a fir-cone, and becoming smaller as they near the point.

It is difficult to say how this chair is placed upon the carriage. It is plain that the back legs may have been placed upon the axle-tree, but the front leg appears to be borne by the pole; this, however, is impossible, since the pole was a simple one, and necessarily fixed in the middle of the axle-tree.

The wheels have eight thin spokes, but the tire-iron is, on the contrary, very thick. To judge by the size of the eunuchs who carry them, these cars must have been very small. As for the pole, it is at first straight, but afterwards curved and terminated, on a level with the arm of the chair, in a horse's head, as much ornamented as that of the horse placed under the seat. This pole, when placed between two horses, must have rested upon their back, by means of a cross-bar finished off at each end by a gazelle's head. Nothing is wanting, for the sculptor has even represented the reins, in the shape of three cords going from the yoke to the axle.

There is nothing else to be remarked in this beautiful bas-relief, at present in the Louvre at Paris. The eunuchs are dressed as usual, their ear-rings only have a new shape.

Two eunuchs without swords are seen, in another bas-relief, carrying a seat or throne. The back of this sort of arm-chair is not much raised, and is surmounted by a bearded figure, whose costume is similar to that of the personages we shall describe by and by. The head of this figure is covered with a tiara, surmounted by a double pair of bulls'



horns, or crescent, in the middle of which is perceived the usual *fleur-de-lis*. Four similar figures support on their heads the arm of the throne, which is very low; they appear to walk with their right hands raised. Lastly, two other personages, standing on a thick transversal bar, seem to bear the bottom of the throne on their raised arms and open hands. They are clothed like the preceding ones, but they have no tiara, and their heads are encircled by a diadem or band, ornamented with rosettes. Further, a little lower, another transversal bar is sculptured with double volutes, united back to back by ligatures.

The absence of the sword is the only peculiarity in the costume of the eunuchs who carry the throne; the rings on their arms are simple spiral stems, and the bracelets on their wrists are also simple rings.

In the next bas-relief we find eunuchs carrying a table or basin. Their costume offers nothing new; the table, on the contrary, is very remarkable. Its top is flat; but it is rounded underneath; this form, together with its square legs, makes one think that it was perhaps a large vase. The legs are terminated below by strong lions' paws, and seem placed on a plate which is itself supported by cones covered with imbricated scales, and resembling fir apples. A strong bar joins the legs above the terminal lions' paws. On this bar there are two bearded figures, furnished with tiaras ornamented with horns and surmounted with *fleurs-de-lis*; they are turned towards one another, and their right hands are raised above their heads, to support the rounded under part of the table. These two figures are separated

by a round fluted leg, which is from time to time encircled by rings ornamented by a row of scales of the fir apple. This leg extends from the centre of the upper plate to the lower.

Another variation presents itself: two men carry a car. The costume of these figures is different from what we have as yet seen. They appear to have a tunic with very short sleeves, falling to their knee-pans; an ample girdle encompasses their loins, and a piece of fringed cloth is perceived hanging between their legs. Such is the appearance presented; but, as it is very difficult to conceive what this fringe can be, if the costume is reduced to so great a degree of simplicity, it would seem that what appears to be the bottom of the tunic is, in truth, the fringed end of a piece of cloth twisted round the loins, and retained in this position by the girdle. It can be seen, in fact, that the fringes hang down from a similar edging to that of the bottom of the tunic, that is to say, one formed of rosettes in squares. It is even possible for us to suppose that this supplementary piece of clothing is placed under the tunic, as is still the case, at the present time, in Yemen, where the inhabitants wear under their shirt a long napkin thrown around their loins; the legs and feet are bare.

The bracelets are very simple; on the arm, they consist of a spiral stem, and on the wrist, of rings without any ornament. The ear-rings have a stem terminated by a small cone. The sword, the hilt of which is decorated with lions' jaws, is hung on a large baldrick ornamented with three rows of pearls, the middle row of which is broken by four plates of similar globules. The hair, as usual, is collected in a mass of curls upon the shoulders. The beard is arranged like that of the king, except that the terminal tresses are shorter, and have only two horizontal rows of curls.

The car which is carried by these two individuals is, unfortunately, mutilated, and the ornaments which formerly decorated it are no longer distinguishable. The body of the car is square, strengthened in front by a strong piece, from the bottom of which the pole rises obliquely, then forms an angle, and becomes perpendicular to the body. From the top of the anterior piece there descends a shaft which joins obliquely at the angle made by the pole, which is straight for the rest of its length.

The yoke, which is very much twisted, is straight in the middle where it joins the pole; it then presents on each side two semicircles, each separated by a straight portion, and, lastly, at each extremity there is a hook turned the opposite way to the semicircles. According to this arrangement, it is allowable to suppose that there was, under the yoke, room for four horses, one under each semicircle; and this appears the more probable, as these hollows appear to be furnished

with a pad; in this case, the half rings which seem to close them would represent the thongs which passed under the neck of the animal to support the yoke. We may also suppose that there was room for two horses only. Their neck would then be placed under the straight portion, separating the semi-circles on each side, and these being closed by the half rings would serve as ties to the yoke. As for the wheels, they have eight thin spokes, and very broad tire-irons, and appear larger in proportion than those of the arm-chairs already described.

The bas-reliefs we have just spoken of were all found in the same façade. The figures of which we are now about to speak follow the preceding ones, and, like them, appear to be bringing presents to the king.

First we have a bearded personage leading four horses. He is dressed like the preceding ones, with the exception of his tunic, which is simpler, and without embroidery on the sleeves. Between his legs the end of a piece of fringed cloth is also seen.



The four horses are placed very evenly abreast, their heads and legs being all in a straight line, and in the same position, as is also seen on ancient medals. By a peculiarity, difficult to account for, on the part of their sculptors, who have not spared their work, the four heads are distinctly seen, but there is only one breast, and the number of the legs is but eight. Further, it is impossible to understand the position of the individual who is leading the horses. His right hand holds the bridle on the right side of the neck of the first horse, and yet his body is, at the least, on the left side of the second horse, since his legs are partly hidden by those of the animals. It cannot

be supposed this is an error; consequently, we must conclude that this manner of representing such subjects was conventional.

The caparisons of the horses are extremely rich; over the chest passes a band, fixed to the withers, with a double row of tassels, which appears to be terminated by small pearls hanging from it. Another embroidered band comes from the top of the head, and supports, under the jaws, a tassel formed of three tufts placed one above the other, and terminated also with pearls. The head carries a plume, likewise of three tufts, on the top of which is a globule. The bridle appears to be formed of the same pieces as ours, made more than two thousand years since. The head-stall is trimmed with rosettes; a thick band, formed of imbricated scales, passes over the eyes, and, where it joins the head-stall, terminates in a small double-tufted tassel. The leather strap which supports the bit, and that which passes over the nose, are ornamented with rosettes; as for the bit itself it is fastened to the bridle by three branches forming the radii of an arc. The tail of the horse, which is very long, is tied up in the middle by a broad strap.

Near where this last bas-relief was found was a door giving access to a chamber. This doorway differed from the rest, as it was not covered with slabs of gypsum, but the mass of the unburnt bricks of the wall remained exposed to view. There were, as usual, before it, two holes for idols, and on the left side was a strong stone ring let into the ground. It is impossible to say for what it was used. We might perhaps suppose that it served to tie up the horses, as it resembles those still employed at Mósul for that purpose; but the nature of the pavement of the esplanade hardly admits of this explanation; the bricks were too tender to resist the shock of a horse's hoof. Time, however, may account for their softness.

Near this door was a bas-relief representing a eunuch dressed like all the rest, and carrying one of the vases with a lion's muzzle for base, such as we have already seen; with one hand he supports it, and with the other he covers up the opening. After this we have two eunuchs, in their ordinary dress, carrying a table. The bracelets on the wrists of these personages are, like those on the arms, formed of wire transversely bound together. The table they are carrying is flat at top, and is ornamented with lions' heads at the angles. Paws of the same animal terminate the legs, which are square, and marked transversely with four rows of triple grooves. These legs are connected by a bar, on which are sculptured double volutes, placed back to back, and attached to each other by bands with vertical grooves. The whole is supported by imbricated scales.

Following are seen two eunuchs, in their ordinary dress, and

with bracelets. The first one is carrying a stool, or rather a small table, of the same form as that just described, but much less wide. That which induces the belief it is a table, and not a seat, is, that its height is the same as that of the object preceding it, which could not be the case if it had been used as a seat. The eunuch, who is following behind, carries in his two hands, which are raised, a large round vase, with a very simple border and no ornament. Both of them, instead of having the scarf and the bottom of the tunic embroidered with series of rosettes, have bands of rosettes intertwined with concentric squares.

Next we have eunuchs placed behind the king, one of whom carries the fly-flapper and bandelet, and the other the bow, quiver, and mace. As this bas-relief was broken in pieces, and had fallen down, it had not been exposed to the rain, and, in consequence, its colours were much more apparent; the hair, eye-brows, and the circuit of the eye were painted black.

In another bas-relief the king is seen looking to the north-west, in a contrary direction to the figure on another slab, and the magian standing before him. The position of these personages in the two bas-reliefs is alike, except that here the magian has his open hand lowered before him, instead of having it raised in the air. Further, the heads being in a better state of preservation, allow the details of the ornaments to be more clearly distinguished. The tiara of the king is ornamented at the bottom with a wide band of bordered rosettes; another band of rosettes, without a border, is at the top: there is also another one between the upper and the lower ones: the little terminal cone is surrounded by a circle of broken lines.

The band that crowns the margin is in the form of a diadem: that is, it is wide in front, and continues to become narrower as it advances towards the back of the head. A large rosette ornaments it in the front, and rosettes, gradually becoming less and less, fill up the remainder of the band. The eye, the eyebrows, and circuit of the eyes of these two personages are painted black. The ornaments and bandelets of the tiara of the king are red, as well as the long stick which he has in his hand. The diadem and bandelets of the magian are also red.

A personage dressed in an entirely different manner from all we have yet seen now presents himself. This bas-relief being in a bad state of preservation, and the same subject occurring further on, it is only necessary to observe that the figure holds one hand, shut, elevated in the air; while with the other he supports what, in the noviciate of the first discoveries, was taken for a cage, but which is evidently the representation of a small fortress, or a conquered town. We shall meet with a great many similar ones.

As we follow group after group, we find bearded personages holding the symbolical flower we have already seen; horsemen galloping; and men mounted on horseback, and, seemingly, leading other horses. The animals are caparisoned like those before spoken of. In one remarkable specimen the cavalier is clad in a short tunic, carries a bow and quiver slung from his left shoulder; he is, besides, armed with a sword and lance, which he carries with his right hand, while, with the left, he holds the bridle of the horse he is riding. He seems to have on short boots, and between these and the edge of his tunic his legs seem to be covered with chain-armour fastened by a garter. The quiver, which is rounded off at its lower extremity, has the opening covered with a piece of cloth, which conceals the ends of the arrows.

Extending our examination, we meet with symbolical personages, usually on each side doorways, winged, wearing the tiara, and dressed in a peculiar style. The tiara is rounded off at the top, where it has an ornament very like a *fleur-de-lis*, and is bounded on the sides with a double pair of horns, the points of which are so twisted as to join in front; a fringed scarf passes over the left shoulder and falls upon the hip. Under this scarf there appears to be a long robe of a peculiar cut; it is drawn tight round the neck, while the arms are very short. From the middle of the body it has a large semicircular opening scooped out of the cloth. This exposes the stomach and legs, while the back part of the robe hangs down to the heels. This hollow enables you to perceive the lower edge of another vestment, which goes no further than the knees, and which must belong either to a shorter tunic, or more probably to a piece of cloth thrown round the loins.

There is no other mode of explaining this costume. It is richly ornamented. The hollow and the bottom of the robe are ornamented with a double line of rosettes and with long fringes, besides which the whole circumference of the anterior opening is bordered with a double cord, the knotted extremities of which expand into a tassel. That portion of the under tunic, or of the piece of cloth which is visible, has only one line of rosettes, from which hang a series of tufts. Sandals complete this costume. The wings of these figures are like those seen on the shoulders of symbolical bird-headed personages; further, the attributes also are alike; they are the fir-apples and little basket. Other personages, dressed like the preceding ones, were observed; but they had no tiaras, and their heads are simply encircled by a band, ornamented with rosettes. Their right hands were raised in the air; and in the left, which hang down, they hold the triple symbolic buds, which we have already seen.

It was natural to expect that when the buried city was exhumed, great number of small objects would be found interesting, from the materials of which they were made or the uses to which they were formerly applied: the excavations, on the contrary, have been in this respect very unfruitful. The reason of this is probably to be attributed to the fact, that the edifices were pillaged before being destroyed by fire. The despoilers, whoever they were, would naturally carry off everything of any value or interest, prior to completing their work of devastation by setting fire to the place. This explanation appears the more probable from the fact that Layard, while excavating the mound of Nimroud, found a number of curious little objects in a monument that had not undergone the action of fire, while he found nothing in another which, like that of Khorsabad, appeared to have been purposely destroyed by that element.

If the palace of Khorsabad was pillaged, it will easily be conceived that at the time of its destruction everything in it that was made of precious metal was taken away first. But what is more extraordinary is, that neither a single cylinder nor a Babylonian seal (to use the customary expression) fell in Botta's way at Khorsabad. We must not, however, be too hasty in forming from this fact conclusions about the country where these amulets were formerly manufactured, for Layard found some at Nimroud, which, as we know, is but a short distance from the mound that Botta opened.

Amongst the things that Botta's people *did* find was a bronze lion. This little statue was found fixed to a flagstone that paved the recess formed by the projection of a winged bull and pier on the right side of a doorway. There had been similar ones not only on the other side of this doorway, but at all the grand entrances of the monument, for the flagstones on which they had been fixed still remained. The present statue is the only one that had not disappeared; and nothing proves more than this fact with what avidity everything of any value was carried off when the edifices were destroyed. This lion is represented in a quiet posture, with his fore-feet stretched out, on a square base, beneath which there is a stout conic stem that entered a hole in the pavement. The animal's posture is perfect, and his head full of expression. With the exception of the mane, which forms a sort of pad round the neck, there is nothing conventional in the workmanship: it is a true picture of nature. This can be seen from the manner in which the fore-feet are executed, and even from the exaggeration with which the sculptor has rendered the flatness of the posture, so remarkable in animals of the *felis* family when they crouch in this manner. The statue is

massive, and cast in a single piece, with the plinth and ring in the middle of the back.

Another relic was a bronze calf's head. This is not cast, but beaten out with a hammer. It must have been adapted to the angles of a seat or table, for we have seen similar ones represented as ornaments of the furniture in one of the Assyrian banquets. Even the little holes are seen through which pass the nails that must have served to fasten it to a piece of wood. As a representation of nature, it is less remarkable than the lion, yet it is not without some merit as a work of art, for a certain appreciation of reality is observed in it. The only conventional points about it are the mane and hair of the jaws, which are represented by straight rows of rolls terminated by curls. This little work is interesting, for it shews that the art of hammering out and welding metals was known to the Assyrians at a very distant epoch. Several fragments belonging to similar heads have also been found; this proves that they must have been often used.

Small burnt-clay idols were found in narrow recesses hidden under the pavement of the courts, either before the doorways or at some other parts of the walls. These statuettes were certainly symbolic; for some represent imaginary beings, and others wear attributes similar to those of the figures placed near the doorways. Some have the mitre encircled at the bottom with a double pair of horns; they have one arm crossed on the breast, and appear to hold a rod or stick, which is now too imperfect to allow of its use being discovered. Others have their hair rolled in large curls, like those of the large figure strangling a lion. There are some whose bodies are human in the upper part, but terminate with bulls' legs and tails. Lastly, there is one which, by its long ears, rather resembles a bat than a lion or jackal. It is needless to repeat that similar figures are often seen on the cylinders and Babylonian seals.

These statuettes are made with the same clay of which the bricks were formed; it is only slightly baked; consequently, it possesses little consistence, and it is difficult to conceive how it has resisted not only the damp, but the weight to which it has been exposed for so many ages.

Besides these idols, the antiquity of which is incontestable, since they were found beneath the very earth of the mound, a small ram's head was discovered in the earth, dug up during the excavations at Khorsabad; it was made of clay, and was beautifully executed. Lastly, while digging at the foot of the mound of Kouyunjik, the workmen laid bare some rude representations of animals in baked clay. These figures were so barbarous, that they were at first mis-

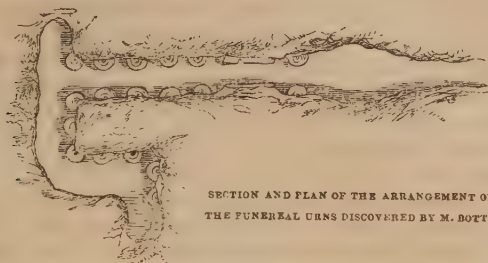
taken for the productions of some Arabian peasants, and consequently they were not preserved. Subsequent discoveries rendered this a matter of regret, since there was reason to believe from the after-discovery of the idols buried at Khorsabad, that these barbarous figures perhaps dated from the Assyrian epoch.

During the very first excavations at Khorsabad, the workmen found a considerable number of balls of clay, hardened by the action of fire, and on which was seen the impression of an emblem that is frequently observed on the cylinders, and which is also found at Persepolis: it consists of a man disembowelling a lion that he holds by the mane; the man's hair and beard are arranged in the Assyrian manner. This little scene is framed with a border, outside of which there are some cuneiform inscriptions, differing from the other specimens. These little inscriptions have not been made with a seal, but have evidently been traced with a style on the clay when wet. The balls, which are of a very irregular shape, were simply kneaded with the hand, for, the opposite side to that on which the seal is cut, still bears the marks of the fingers and even of the pores of the skin; lastly, they have always a hole pierced through them, and in this hole there are still found the remains of charred twine. This circumstance is another proof, added to the rest, that the city was destroyed by fire. The fact itself may be easily explained in the following manner: these balls of clay, which were hung up by a piece of string in different situations, must have been calcined, and the string burnt inside the hole, where the remains of it were discovered.

But what can have been the use of these seals of clay? It is plain they were not objects destined for any very long term of service, for they must have been used before their calcination, while the clay was yet soft, otherwise the string would not be found burnt inside the hole. The most plausible explanation, probably, is, that they served as a means of knowing whether certain doors had remained shut, and for this purpose the Assyrians sealed up their doors with these balls. This is the more probable, as the Bible teaches us that the kings of Assyria were, in certain cases, in the habit of doing so.

Funereal urns were also found. These urns or jars were buried in the mounds, and were found standing in regular rows. They are oval and elongated in shape, terminating at the bottom in a very narrow foot, and widening out at the mouth. The only ornament on them is one rim or fillet round the neck, and another round the base. These urns are made of baked earth, and have no cover; they are about four feet high, and their greatest diameter is about two feet and a half. They were, when found, entirely filled with a clayey

earth, in which was found a great many fragments of bones, that appeared calcined. Although there is no reason to doubt that the



SECTION AND PLAN OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF
THE FUNERIAL URNS DISCOVERED BY M. DOTTI.



bones were those of the human skeleton, no single fragment was found considerable enough, or in a sufficient state of preservation, to give direct proof whether it belonged to man or some other animal.

Enamelled bricks were discovered. In noticing the mode of building pursued at Khorsabad, it was evident that, above the coating of gypsum slabs, there had been several rows of kiln-burnt bricks, the united surfaces of which must have represented subjects analogous to those which were sculptured on the lower part of the walls. Unfortunately, only a few fragments of these were found: they are sufficient, however, to give an idea of this kind of decoration. On each of the bricks, portions of human forms or ornaments are depicted, and their assemblage produces the figures or details that we have seen so often; including the king, with his red tiara, winged personage sholding the basket and fir-cone, cars, goats, rosettes, tracteries of palm-leaves or symbolic flowers. On these fragments are also found portions of cuneiform inscriptions, painted either yellow or white. The ingredients of these bricks are very coarse, and they appear to have been but slightly baked, for they possess very little consistence. The painted surface seems to have been rendered even by means of a layer of fine clay, over which was a coat of lime or plaster. The colours seen on these were white, black, red, olive-green, grey, and yellows of various shades.

Altars must next be mentioned as amongst the discoveries. Two blocks of calcareous stone, cut in the shape of altars, were lying on the ground at a few steps from the mound of Khorsabad; their trunks are triangular; the tops of the angles are cut off, and terminate with lions' feet, very well sculptured; above and below which there is a flat band; the angles beneath the feet are round like columns, instead of being flat. The whole stands on a plinth, which, together with all the rest, is formed of one single block. A cuneiform inscription is engraved on the circumference of the slabs. These remains are called altars; since no better explanation of their form could be given. Both were exactly alike.

Nails of various forms were found in the earth that filled the chambers; and fragments of copper utensils were also discovered. Of the nails, some are small, and similar to those we call *brads*; others were much bigger, and were square, with round heads, like those used to nail ship's planking. All had probably belonged to the roof; for some appeared to have undergone the action of fire, and were partly melted, being made of bronze.

Besides these nails, the ring which was fixed in the wall above the small bronze lion, already mentioned, was found. It was secured in the wall by means of a strong square rod, annulated at intervals, so that it might not be torn out of its place. All these objects are exceedingly well made, and much superior to any similar articles that could be manufactured in the East at the present day!

A few words must now be said of the fragment of a small circle, whose use it is not easy to guess. There is no doubt that this fragment formed the portion of a wheel, or something similar, for on its concave side the roots of the spokes are still to be seen; but it is too small and slight to authorise us in believing that it is part of the wheel of a car. If the reader, however, will again look at the wheels represented on the bas-reliefs, he will perceive that they were, in truth, very little, and the spokes remarkably slight; a circumstance that would induce us to believe that these latter were formed of metal. We cannot believe, it is true, that fellies as narrow as those of the fragment in question could ever have supported a car without sinking into the ground; but the bas-reliefs again furnish an answer to this difficulty. We can see by them very distinctly that the fellies are formed of two superposed circles, the external circle being united by broad flaps to the internal one. It is very allowable to suppose that the Assyrians, finding great difficulty in uniting with precision the different parts of a wheel, thought of casting in one piece the interior portion, that is, the nave,

the spokes, and the first circle of the felly, and then completing it by another circle of wood, thicker and broader than the first, in order to increase the diameter of the wheel, and prevent its cutting into the ground. This would explain the bas-reliefs; and the fragment in question might really have formed part of the wheel of an Assyrian car.

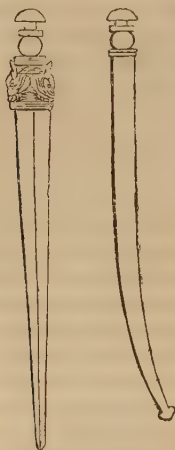
We may pass over, as possessing no interest, a large number of large thin plates of bronze, but must not omit mentioning the small models of arms discovered in one of the pits containing the idols of baked clay. In this place were little lance-heads of bronze, with a handle hollowed out for the insertion of another one of wood. Some thin little crescents of the same metal, also furnished with a small handle, were likewise discovered. We may boldly assert that these playthings could have been of no use, and were doubtless thus buried by the side of the idols solely with some symbolic intention.

A piece of lapis ollaris, flat and sculptured on several sides, was found near Amadia, a town situated at a distance of fifteen hours' journey to the north of Mósul, in the first range of the mountains of Kurdistan. One side represents two symbolic figures lying one on the other, each of whom is encompassed by a cording in the form of a frame. The heads of these figures are human, with no beards, and rather effeminate. Their head-dresses, which are Assyrian, are encircled with bands; their bodies resemble that of a lion or feline animal, rather than that of an herbivorous one, and wings complete their fantastic appearance.

The other side is also divided into two compartments. In the lower one there is a he-goat, or rather a she-goat, lying down and looking back; in the upper one there are two of these animals, also looking back, and standing with their fore-feet on a stem or trunk placed between them. On each of the lateral sides is seen a personage whose form is entirely human: he has no beard, and is dressed in a long robe fringed at the lower edge, and over which he wears a cloak like a sort of pelisse, but rounded at the bottom. Underneath, it is furrowed with oblique lines, which, by crossing each other, form lozenges. Lastly, the top is bored with three holes that penetrate nearly to the base. It is very difficult to discover what could have been the former use of this stone.

While searching near the mound of Nebbi Yunus, on which the village which now bears the name of Nineveh is built, the workmen found a small glass bottle; it was round, short-necked, and had a large mouth. The glass, which was extremely thin, was white, and dotted with little black specks melted up with the in-

gredients, so as to resemble certain Venetian or Bohemian glasses, that are manufactured with pencils of different colours. Unhappily, this bottle, after lying for twenty centuries safely in the earth, was broken in the hands of a careless fool who was pretending to examine it.



ASSYRIAN SWORDS.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE ASSYRIAN RELICS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THOSE readers who have gone with us through the preceding pages, descriptive of what is left to us of Assyrian art, will turn with double pleasure towards those chambers of our National Museum which contain our share of the relics of ancient Assyria,—our spoil gathered amidst the ruins of the buried city. Our friends the French are proud of the sculptures obtained by Botta, and now in the Louvre; but we may fairly and successfully challenge a comparison with them by pointing to the British Museum. No one can visit that establishment without being reminded of the importance and interest of our Assyrian acquisitions; for the Great Winged Bull and Lion, which now grace the entrance hall there, attract the immediate notice of all who come near them, and by their size, their antiquity, and strange story, induce those who might otherwise pass on to other objects, to stop and inquire for the companion antiques;—and these, once seen, cannot again be forgotten.

Let us now, then, devote a chapter to the Assyrian relics contained in the British Museum. By doing so, we may at once render our present work more complete, and fit it for the companionship of those who, after perusing this account of the labours of Layard, may think fit to go in search of the antiquarian treasures he acquired for the Museum of his country.

Whilst this book is passing through the press, the authorities of the British Museum are yet undecided how the Nimroud marbles

are to be ultimately arranged. Meanwhile, part of them occupy an apartment underground, whilst another part are ranged along a temporary passage. Lacking any permanent arrangement, we may therefore, in our description, follow the writers of some articles on this subject in the *Athenæum* and the *Illustrated London News*.

The Assyrian collection in the British Museum was not all contributed by Layard; a portion of it is due to the exertions of another Englishman, Mr. Hector, of whom more presently. Let us, however, first consider the most important, or Layard contributions, taking them in the order of their arrival in this country.

Nine of the reliefs first placed in the Museum apparently relate to the actions of the same king, certain of the subjects seeming to follow naturally and consecutively. The first in this order represents the attack of a fortified city. The king, accompanied by his body-guard, bearing his arms, and attended by a single eunuch, all on foot, directs his arrows against the city. The king's dress consists of a long fringed embroidered robe, with a shorter tunic, closing in front, and likewise embroidered, bordered, and fringed. He has cords and tassel depending from his girdle, in which he wears two daggers and a sword. He has two arrows in his hand, and wears a cap like a truncated cone, with a point at the top; a plain fillet passes round the cap, and is tied behind with long ribands. His ear-rings have long pendants, and the bracelets on his wrists are distinguished by rosettes. The body-guard have conical caps upon their heads, surcoats reaching midway down the legs, sandals on their feet, and massive rings upon their wrists. Ear-rings are worn by all in each of the sculptures, some being distinguished by three-lobed terminations, some consisting of rings with broad, and others with long, pendants. Each of the body-guard has a round shield upon his left arm, which he holds upraised, to protect the king from the missiles of the enemy. One wears a quiver of arrows and a sword by his side, and holds two arrows for the king's use, whilst the other carries the king's javelin, and is without a sword or quiver. The eunuch is clothed in a long elaborately-embroidered robe, fringed at the bottom; a sash round his waist, over which his sword-belt is buckled; ear-rings and bracelets, but no sandals. On his left side are a bow and quiver full of arrows, and in his right hand is an instrument like a whip-handle, with a rosette at one end, and a loop at the other. It is worthy of especial remark that, in all the sculptures, the personal attendants of the king, whether his bearded guards or his eunuchs, carry this whip-like implement, and that in no case is a thong attached. Is it an emblem of sovereign power, as in the Egyptian monuments, and, at the present time in the East, when the governor of a province is

invariably accompanied by the bearer of the Korbatsch. The eunuch's head is uncovered, and his hair is formally curled. Directly in front of the king is a castle formed of wicker-work, protected in front by projecting shields of some less fragile material. This structure, which runs on wheels, is as high as the walls of the town, and has a lower covered tower, both upper and lower range having three loop-holes for the discharge of the missiles. The upper tower contains soldiers armed with bows, arrows, and stones, and bearing square wicker shields; one soldier is in the act of throwing a stone, under cover of his companion's shield. The wicker war-engine carries with it a battering-ram, which is doing good work upon the walls of the town, plainly shewn by the dislodged and falling stones. The besieged city has embattled walls, with towers at intervals, these towers being higher than the walls. The gateway of the city is arched, the doors opening in the middle, and guarded by towers on each side; and there are loop-holes and windows both in the towers and the walls above the gateway. The defenders upon the walls are discharging arrows, with which their quivers, slung at their backs, are amply stocked. They bear the square wicker shield, and are distinguished from the besiegers by wearing a fillet round their heads, like that worn by a people represented on the Egyptian monuments, instead of the conical cap. In the front of the besieged is a magnate of the city, holding a slackened bow in his left hand, and apparently endeavouring to obtain a parley. The peculiar position of his right hand, closing it, by bringing the four fingers and thumb together, should be noticed, as the action is still used in the East when attention and consideration are required; it is invariably accompanied by the word "sabr"—patience.

The second slab is the fragment of a relievo, in which the figures are colossal. They consist of the king, who is in the act of drinking; behind him is his military eunuch, holding his bow and the whip-shaped instrument before described. The king wears the truncated cap, with the fillet tied behind, ear-rings, with the long pendant and drop at the end; rosette-clasped bracelet; a necklace of alternate long and round beads; an under-dress fastened with tassels; and his robe furred and embroidered, and set with gems at the border. The eunuch likewise wears a necklace, furred robe, and richly-ornamented under-garment; his head is uncovered, and hair formally curled.

The third relievo represents the chariot of the king drawn by three horses. The chariot is almost precisely the same as that of Egypt; to the sides are fixed, crossways, two quivers full of arrows, each quiver being also furnished with a small bow and hatchet.

What appears to be a richly-ornamented bow-case is fixed in front of the chariot and over the horses' backs. The bossed shield of the king hangs at the back of the chariot, where the spear is likewise fixed in a place appointed for it, decorated with a human head. In front is the metal bar, fixed to the pole, as in the Egyptian chariots; and the harness and trappings of the horses are exactly like the Egyptian, but their tails are knotted. The horses have beads upon their necks, with cuneiform characters cut upon them, probably a chaplet of amulets, as is still the custom of Oriental nations. In front of the chariot is the king's groom, clothed in a short tunic, bordered and fringed; belt round his waist, sword suspended from the shoulders, sandals upon his feet, but his head uncovered, and hair elaborately curled. Within the chariot is the charioteer, holding the reins, and with a whip in his right hand. His dress is a tunic, with a sash and belt round his waist, and sword by his side; but he wears no covering on his head, nor bracelets on his arms. The body-guard behind the chariot have bordered but not fringed tunics; and over their shoulders round highly-bossed shields, with a lion's head in the centre. They wear the conical cap, sandals, and enriched swords, and hold the whip-like instrument in their right, and bows in their left hands. Before the king's chariot are two soldiers clothed in scale-armour, reaching from the cap down to the ankles. One is pointing his arrows upwards, whilst the other, holding a dagger in his right hand, is guarding his comrades with his thickly-bossed shield: it is remarkable that all the bowmen appear to be accompanied by shield-bearers. A third soldier, wearing a sword, but not clad in armour, is kneeling in front, intimating fighting in ranks: the aim of the whole seems to be at something above, of which, perhaps, the representation is missing,—a surmise supported by the fact that the king is nowhere visible on this slab. A vulture is directing his flight towards the battle-field, where another above the chariot is devouring a dying man, who has fallen whilst in the act of flying. He wears the fillet which indicates the enemy.

The fourth which we shall describe represents the standard-bearers of the great king, with their respective charioteers. Each chariot bears a distinct standard—the foremost one being a bull, and the other two horses. The chariots and the trappings of the horses are the same as before described, excepting that the horses have plumes upon their heads. There are three horses to each chariot, but only six legs are represented; and the officers are without caps, though, in other particulars, their dresses are the same as on the former slabs. The victorious army is pursuing the enemy through a wood, indicated

by the trees and bushes; and the vulture hovering over the first chariot, and the headless bodies stretched amongst the trees, are sufficiently suggestive that the carnage has been great. One of the leaders of the enemy is imploring for quarter; the horses of his chariot are falling, plunging, and struggling in different directions, in admirable opposition to the composed array of the king's body-guard, distinguished by the conical cap and whip-like instrument. The wheels of the chariots of the enemy have eight spokes, whereas the other chariots have but six.

The next relieve is a continuation of the last; as, without other internal evidence, may be discovered by the exactly corresponding parts of the chariot-wheel in the two slabs. The king, in the van of the battle, is in his chariot, with his charioteer and shield-bearer, who are both uncovered. The chariot, horses, and accompaniments are the same as heretofore detailed. The shield-bearer extends his bossed shield to protect the king, who is clothed in a richly-embroidered tunic, the truncated cap, rosette-clasped bracelets, and his bow-arm protected from the recoil of the string by a close-fitting shield, fastened above the elbow and wrist. The left arms of his officers are similarly guarded. Above the chariot is a human-bodied divinity, with wings, but without legs; he wears a cap with two bull's horns laid close round the head. A broad flat ring encircles this figure, passing immediately above the feathery termination of his person, and behind and above his shoulders. This divinity sends his winged arrows against the enemies of the king. Directly in front of the king, a leader of the enemy is falling from his chariot, one of the horses of which is down, whilst the others are still plunging and endeavouring to extricate themselves; the charioteer, having lost control, is precipitated in front. Beyond, one of the king's soldiers is about to kill a flying foe, in spite of the efforts of a comrade to drag him off to the security of the city, the outworks of which extend to the banks of a shallow stream running through a woody country. One of the enemy lies dead, and others are flying before the conquering king, who pursues them to the very confines of the city. The city has embattled towers, and arched gateway likewise embattled, and is protected by a ditch and double wall, from behind the second and inner of which the enemy are discharging their arrows. From the towers they are also shooting arrows and throwing stones, under cover of wicker shields. The last figure, as far as the fracture allows us to see, shews one endeavouring to obtain a parley: his slackened bow is in his left hand, and his right is upraised, bespeaking attention.

Another slab represents a castellated building with four external

towers, round which water is flowing; perhaps a fortress on an island. The foremost tower is occupied by an armed man, holding a bow in his left and two arrows in his right hand; on the alternate towers behind him is a female figure, raising her hands in an attitude of deprecation. In the stream before the walls of the building are three persons swimming towards it; the first and third on inflated skins, the present no less than the ancient method of crossing the rivers of Mesopotamia; and the second supporting himself without



the aid of the skins, and apparently struggling against the force of the water. On the bank of the river kneel two warriors wearing high caps, who are discharging their arrows at the swimmers, and have succeeded in piercing the second one in two places. Three trees,—one of them apparently the date-palm,—complete the scene. It is probable that the slab represents the escape of three prisoners from the enemy, who have pursued and overtaken them at the water's edge.

Two colossal relievi represent the "Hawk-headed Deity," called Nisroch, and are seven feet high. His crest is hanging down behind, and one of the wings from his shoulder is elevated and the other depressed. His under-garment, richly embroidered and edged with tasselled fringe, reaches only to his knees; he has a long robe, similarly trimmed, hanging at the back, and apparently passing round in front, the end hanging over the left shoulder: two double cords, knotted at intervals, and with tassels at the ends, hang from the waist. His outer garment is a long furred and embroidered mantle, reaching down to the ankles; it is passed under the right arm and thrown over the left shoulder; the handles of two daggers are shewn upon the breast. The vest is fastened round the neck with a pomegranate and tassel. He has a plain armlet on his arm, rosette-clasped bracelets

on his wrists, ear-rings, and a bead chaplet on his neck, the centre bead of which is a pomegranate. The riband which ties the fillet of the cap is shewn behind. In his right hand he holds a pine-cone, which he is in the act of presenting; and in his left, a square basket with a handle. In the sandals, the heel only is protected, the straps passing over the instep: the remains of colouring matter are still upon them. The lower half of this relievo is covered with a cuneiform inscription; but whether coeval with the sculpture or placed there subsequently, is a subject for investigation.

The next sculptures are not bassi-relievi, but consist of a colossal human head, with bull's horns and ears, and the cloven foot of a bull, probably belonging to one of the human-headed and winged bulls, which have been so often alluded to. The head is covered with an Oriental turban, with a fillet at the back, and a cord round the forehead: the horns and ears appear in the turban. It is likely that this is a portrait of the king, as it bears a resemblance to the other sculptures, in all of which there is an evident attempt to maintain the verisimilitude of the principal personage. The king's head is placed upon the bull, a noble and strong animal, possibly to indicate his strength, or his having vanquished the wild bull: as the Egyptians, in their Sphynge, placed the heads of their kings upon their favourite lion.

Another relievo is a "Colossal Human-headed Figure," seven feet high. The beard is formally curled; three bull's horns are laid close down upon and round the head; but in all other respects the dress is the same as in the last. This person is also presenting a pine-cone with the right hand, and is holding a basket with the left. The lower half of this slab is likewise inscribed with cuneiform letters.

A further relievo represents a Lion Hunt. The king is in his chariot, drawn by three horses, which the charioteer urges forward to escape a lion which has already placed his claw upon the back of the chariot, infuriated at the four arrows which have already taken effect. The king at this juncture aims a deadly blow at the monster, whose tail is admirably indicative of rage and fury. Behind the lion are two of the king's bearded body-guard, fully armed, and holding their shields and daggers in readiness for defence in the event of the prey escaping the shaft of the king. A wounded lion prowls crouching upon the ground in front, the agony expressed in its action being well contrasted with the fury in the former. The tail of the lion has an exaggerated representation of the claw mentioned by Didymus Alexandrinus. The existence of this claw has, until very recently, been disputed; but the observations of some modern naturalists have confirmed the statement which is here incidentally supported by this

curious evidence. The king's body-guard wear the conical cap, with a large tassel depending from under the hair at the back of the head; the charioteer is uncovered, and carries a whip in the right hand;



and the king himself is dressed as heretofore described, and is armed with a sword, with a lion's head upon it near the handle. In its place behind the chariot is the king's javelin, decorated with the fillet.

The next relievo represents "the King returned from the Chase." The lion is at his feet, apparently subdued, but not dead. He is followed by his out-door attendants, consisting of two warriors and two eunuchs, the former habited in the surcoat, reaching no lower than the knees, and the latter in long, fringed, and very richly-embroidered robes: they are all uncovered, and carry in their hands the instrument so often mentioned. The king wears the truncated cap, the long fringed robe, and shorter richly-embroidered tunic, with cord and tassels depending. He has a sash round the waist, with a sword-belt buckled over it, and what seems to be the tassels of the sword-belt hanging from the shoulders both before and behind; similar tassels are hanging from the back of the head, under the hair. He wears also rosette-clasped bracelets, plain armlets, and a double necklace. The king's cup-bearer, the sherbetices of our day, meets the king, and has presented to him the cup of sherbet or wine for his refreshment, which the king, still leaning on his bow, drinks, whilst the cup-bearer disperses the flies with the fly-flapper in his hand. Over his left shoulder is a long muslin handkerchief or napkin, embroidered and fringed at both ends, for the king to wipe his lips with after drinking. The cup-bearer is prepared to receive the cup, and holds the napkin forward, in readiness to present it to the king. This is very interesting, from its exact resemblance to the custom of the Persians of the present day: the hand-

kerchief is called el-mahr-rha-ma. Behind the cup-bearer stand two other attendants, with their hands clasped one over the other, in the Eastern conventional attitude of respect approved in our time. Behind these, again, are the minstrels playing on instruments with nine strings, which are struck by means of a kind of plectrum, or rather hammer, the fingers evidently being used as stops. Their mouths, in opposition to the firmly-compressed lips of the other persons, are represented open, shewing that they are singing their pœans—songs of rejoicing and gladness—at the king's return.

A Bull Hunt is the subject of the next relievo. The king is attended by his huntsman, who follows the chariot, riding sideways upon one horse, and leading another richly caparisoned with embroidered and fringed saddle, necklace, and knotted tail, evidently for the king's use in the chase. The king in his chariot, having wounded a bull, seizes him by the horns, and inflicts a deadly wound with one of the daggers that he wears. It is especially remarkable that the king is inserting his dagger precisely between the second and third vertebræ, where the spinal cord is most assailable, and that he is doing this carelessly with his head turned away, with the composure gained by long experience. Another bull, pierced with four arrows, lies upon the ground. The horns of the bulls are peculiarly short and thick, but only one is represented on any one. It does not, however, follow that unicorns are intended, as



it may merely arise from the profile representation. In the usual place is the king's spear, like that carried by the huntsman; it has the addition of a fillet to rouse and frighten the wild beasts. The other appointments of the chariot have been already described; and the three horses have again but six legs shewn. The king wears the truncated cap, trilobed ear-rings, bracelets, and armlets; in all other respects his dress is the same as before detailed. His charioteer,

who drives, is uncovered : he wears rosette-clasped bracelets like the king's, and holds a whip in his right hand.

The next relievo represents "the League, or Treaty of Peace." The king having arrived at the frontier of his dominions, has descended from his chariot to meet another king, as we infer from the short upper tunic, which nowhere else appears excepting upon the king, and which we therefore suppose to be a royal robe. The two kings are clothed precisely alike, in richly-embroidered and furred robes of the same form ; the head-dresses, however, differ ; he whom we have hitherto distinguished as *the* king wearing the truncated cap, whereas the other wears the simple fillet before named. Both kings are on foot, but the conqueror still retains the implements of war, and holds in his right hand two arrows perpendicularly—perhaps a mystical sign of friendship—whilst his adversary raises his right hand in an action of supplication. That the conditions of the treaty are favourable to the conqueror, may be inferred by the surrender of the prisoners, intimated by the prisoner in the conical cap kissing the feet of his king and deliverer. Immediately behind the great king are two eunuchs, each holding bows and quivers of arrows and the whip-shaped instrument ; one of these holds an umbrella over the king's head. Behind the eunuchs is the king's groom, armed with a sword, and having a quiver of arrows ; he holds the king's chariot, the horses of which, in this representation, have the right number of legs. Beside the chariot stands a body-guard, wearing the conical cap, and holding a javelin ; and in the chariot is the charioteer. The king's javelin, with two streamers, is in its appointed place at the back of the chariot. The relative rank and importance of the officers attached to the king are indicated by the height of each individual, each bearing his appropriate insignia.

The sculptures just mentioned belong to the first series that reached this country. Shortly after the public had been gratified by an inspection of them, several cases with additional treasures arrived in London. It appears that we are indebted for this valuable addition to our collection to the enterprising spirit of Mr. Hector, already mentioned, an English merchant, long established at Baghdad, whose antiquarian knowledge and love of research, says a writer in the *Athenæum* (J. Bonomi), induced him to essay some excavations in the neighbourhood of M. Botta's rich, but now entirely exhausted, mine. It is not easy for a private individual to succeed in such tasks as Mr. Hector had undertaken ; but he eventually surmounted all the difficulties in his way, and was rewarded by rescuing these, to us, unique remains (as all the other specimens from Khorsabad are already in the hands of the French government).

The importance of his exertions will be justly appreciated by all who know that without them our collection of these historical records would have been deficient in some essential links in the chain of research. As soon as Mr. Hector had secured and packed his discoveries, he consigned them to the care of Mr. Stirling, of Sheffield, a gentleman distinguished alike for his intelligence and for a patriotic desire to secure to the nation any relics or information of value. Acting upon his knowledge of the interest entertained by the public in the subject, Mr. Stirling at once proceeded judiciously to negotiate the sale to the British Museum; and the Trustees finally paid him 400*l.* for the curious property entrusted to him.

The particular remains now under notice consist exclusively of isolated figures, although there can be but little doubt that these figures form portions of groups and of colossal ranges of sculpture similar in character to the smaller friezes from the walls at Nimroud.

The most important of these remains are three figures eight feet eleven inches high. The first is that of the king wearing the truncated cone-like cap, richly embellished, with the small cone quite perfect at the top, and the two long embroidered and fringed fillets depending from the back of the cap. He has long pendent ear-rings, bracelets with richly-carved rosettes, and upon his arm is an ornamented armlet lapping over; his beard is very long, and, like the hair, formally curled; his under-dress, embroidered with rosettes in square compartments and bordered with a tasselled fringe, reaches to the feet; his mantle is decorated with rosettes dispersed at regular intervals over the whole surface, and a fringe with an embroidered heading borders the mantle; he has sandals on his feet, of which the heel-piece is painted in red stripes; his left hand rests upon the hilt of his sword, the two-lion scabbard of which appears at the back; and his right hand is raised, holding a long staff or sceptre.

The next figure is of the same dimensions as the last; and it appears that the two slabs adjoined, and probably represented an interview between the great king and, possibly, the governor of some province of the vast Assyrian empire, for his dress is that of an important functionary. His head is uncovered, the hair is elaborately curled, and the beard is of that length and prescribed form which denote a personage of rank. There are also indications of a fillet passing round the head, the two long embroidered and fringed ends of which hang from the back; and he wears highly-ornamented pendent ear-rings, a richly-carved armlet lapping over, and bracelets with ten strings connected by a rosette-shaped clasp. The robe, which reaches to his instep, is highly decorated, and has a deep-knotted fringe with an embroidered heading; and over the robe is worn a

peculiar article of dress suspended from the neck to below the waist; it consists of a broad band of embroidery like that on the robe, from the whole of which falls a double row of fur or fringe reaching to the knee, and covering the entire back of the figure from the shoulder downwards, forming also a covering to the arm to a little above the elbow. The right hand of the figure is upraised, and the left rests upon the hilt of the sword, which is thrust into the band, and appears under and behind the surcoat.

The third figure of the same dimensions is beardless, the face full, and the hair formally curled in six rows, in the same fashion as all the other beardless figures. The details of the costume are precisely like the last, excepting that the robe is without embroidery, that the armlet wraps twice round the arm, and instead of being carved all over, is only decorated at each end; and that the bracelets consist of four rings connected by rosettes. The feet are much mutilated, yet there remains an indication of the sandal. The right hand of this figure is clasped in the left, in the conventional attitude of respect mentioned formerly, which would suggest that this person stands in the presence of one of superior rank, and therefore belongs to a group of figures. Of this we are unequivocally assured, also, by a portion of a fringed garment and part of the scabbard of a sword represented on the same slab before the figure.

The figures next to be described are three feet three inches in height, two of them apparently representing priests. In the first, the hair and long beard are elaborately curled; around the head is a chaplet of twisted cords and rosettes tied at the back where the tassel is visible, together with the large tassel under the hair. He wears long pendent ear-rings, overlapping armlets wrapped twice round the arm, and bracelets with three rings and rosette clasps. The right hand is open, and raised in the attitude of prayer; and the left is slightly extended, holding an implement like a whip with three thongs, with a large bead at the end of each, or, as is more probable, a branch of some plant, either a mystic emblem or an offering. The figure is clothed in a short tunic, with embroidery and tasselled fringe, with two cords and tassels depending from the waist; a long robe, with a simple fringe; and passing under the right arm and over the left shoulder, is a deep fur or fringe headed by embroidery, the whole similar to the peculiar article of costume described in the second colossal figure: the feet are broken off. The second priest-like figure resembles the last in all particulars, excepting that the short tunic is without fringe, whilst the upper robe is embroidered above the fringe; that the bracelets are simple rings; and that the feet are perfect, and without sandals. In both these slabs, a perforation has been effected near the

upraised hands. The third figure is attired in a long tunic, with embroidered and scalloped fringe, the upper dress being open in the front; the head is uncovered, and the beard is short and crisply curled. The left hand is raised, and holds a sack or water-skin, which the right hand supports at the back.

The fourth large figure has likewise the head uncovered, the hair confined by an embellished fillet, and the short curled beard. In his left hand he holds a bow, and in his right two arrows; whilst his quiver is slung behind, and his sword is by his side. His fringed and peculiarly ornamental tunic reaches only midway down the thigh, and *wraps over in front*.

The remaining sculptures are all detached fragments, as follow:

Two colossal horses' heads, richly caparisoned in highly decorated head-trappings, the parts of which resemble those at present in use in the East. A hand is seen holding the horses, but no other part of the figure remains. This is probably a fragment of a similar group to that now in the Louvre, though in this specimen there are only two horses, whilst in that of the Louvre there are four.

A fragment containing two human feet and the fetlock of a horse. The foot of the horse, with a portion of the tail, are in front; and immediately behind is a human foot, with a part of the fringed and embroidered robe above it. The second foot, which has a singular fringed garment above, belongs to a distinct figure. Three rows of cuneiform characters in a very perfect state form the base of this fragment. Fragments with horses' hoofs and cuneiform characters, probably belonging to the former; a few detached and unconnected fragments of inscription; two hands and arms with rosette-clasped bracelets, one being of colossal size; the point of a scabbard decorated with the two lions; and the following heads, complete the present list.

A colossal human head with a turban, represented by folds laid close round the head; a row of curls appears from underneath the turban at the back, and the beard is short and formally curled.

Three heads of smaller size, the details of which are like the last. In one, however, the shoulder indicates that the left arm is raised; and in another, the thumb and palm of the hand are visible upon the right shoulder.

Six heads uncovered, the hair arranged in six formal rows of curls at the back. The faces are very full, and quite beardless. In five of the heads the three-lobed ear-ring is shewn, whilst in the sixth it is the long pendent. In one the neck of the robe is embroidered; on another, embroidery is visible upon the shoulder; and on a third, an ornament like a chain of metal plates appears over the shoulder.

The remains of colouring matter can be seen upon almost all these heads. Finally, two smaller heads with chaplets, apparently belonging to priests, and part of a head with a short beard.

All these heads above enumerated, except those of the beardless figures, differ from those of the attendants of the great king and those who defend the walls of the beleagured cities in the bassi-relievi from Nimroud, in the form of the head-gear, and also in the fashion of the hair and beard. Besides this obvious variety in the dress, there is a marked difference in the shape and length of the beard and hair, "which," continues M. Bonomi, the writer of this description, "I cannot attribute to the caprice of the artist, for every thing in the East is of ancient and prescribed form. Even the colour of the robe is settled by law; so that fashion cannot exert that capricious influence which she indulges in in the West. So, likewise, in modern times, no Christian of Damascus would dare to wear other than a black turban, and no Moslem, who could not make good his descent from the Prophet, would venture on a green one. It is to be noted that neither of the persons whom I have designated 'the king' and 'the governor of a province,' have that short regal vesture which we found on the king and his adversary in the Nimroud collection. This circumstance induces me to believe that these figures of the Khorsabad sculptures are not the same persons as those of the Nimroud; or that the occasion of that particular garment is one of danger, such as the battle and the chase; or else, that the fashion had changed in the interval between the period of one set of sculptures and that of the other."

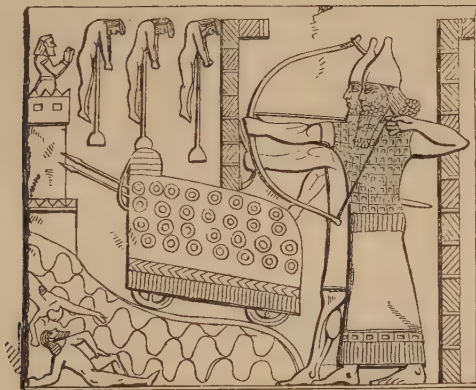
The next arrival from Layard included some of the most important specimens in the whole collection of antiques; but before reaching the Museum they had many narrow escapes. They were sunk in the Jumna during their voyage to England, and are stated to have suffered considerable damage from their submersion; whilst irreparable injury was done to the smaller and more fragile remains—such as glass and ivory—in consequence of careless unpacking and repacking.

This importation comprised twenty bassi-relievi, four slabs of cuneiform inscriptions, the celebrated black marble obelisk, terracotta vases, many of which have a blue vitrified glaze, like that used by the ancient Egyptians; fragments of bronze platings of arms and legs of chairs; elegantly carved fragments of sculptured ivory, some of which are gilt; three engraved rolling seals, one being of transparent glass; an Egyptian ornament, some cornelian and other beads, a silver ring, bronze nail with gilt head, one small bronze statuette of a sheep, two ditto of stags, and seventeen of crouching lions, varying in size from one inch up to twelve inches in length.

The relievi contain four subjects illustrative of the attack and conquest of several fortified places, representations of divisions of the great king's army, figures of divinities, and several fragments of sculpture of similar stamp.

The first relievo represents the attack on a fortress by the army of the great king, typified by two bearded and one beardless figure. Two of the figures, habited in long robes, are discharging arrows at the citadel; whilst the third, who wears a short tunic, holds in his right hand a dagger, and with his left sustains a high movable breast-work, which extends from the ground to considerably above the heads of the besiegers, who are thus effectually screened. Immediately in front of this breast-work are three trees, two being of the palm kind. Only one man is upon the walls, and he is discharging his arrows at the besiegers.

The next relievo is a continuation of the attack, and most interestingly indicates that the military operations of this early period closely resemble those of the present day; for the assailants are fighting in ranks, under cover of a movable wicker breast-work, and



immediately before the troops is a war-engine—a battering-ram on wheels, and covered by a hanging. This engine is impelled against the walls up a levelled roadway on the rocky ascent upon which the city is built; and the two spears attached have already effected a breach in a tower, upon the top of which a man stands with hands extended, as if asking for a truce. In front of the walls, and within view of the citizens, are three men impaled, as a warning to the besieged; and below, as if fallen from the walls, are a dying man

and a headless body, the head having doubtless been removed for the purpose of numbering the slain, as in modern eastern warfare. The shield-bearer, as in the last frieze, is clad in a short tunic, whilst the bowman wears a long fringed dress and a breast-plate: both have a form of cap not before shewn on these remains. This slab having been curtailed on the right side, the rearmost figures are only partially indicated, and cannot therefore be described; but, like the last, it shews the cramp and drill-holes by which it was secured to the wall and to the slabs above.

The third frieze is unquestionably the final assault upon the city, the citadel of which is strongly fortified by double ranges of embattled walls, the lowest even being higher than a full-grown date-tree seen on the outside. The city is built in a plain, and surrounded by a moat. The determined activity of the besiegers is shewn by the artificial earth-work which they have raised to elevate their wheeled tower, and enable it to command the walls; whilst, farther off, the soldiers are felling the fruit-trees, devastating the country, and advancing with spear and shield. The fight is vigorously maintained on both sides; the bowmen in the movable castle, and the besieged beyond the battlements, displaying equal and fatal earnestness, as is intimated by the dead falling into the ditch beneath.

The next frieze might, in the order of subject, conclude the history of the last described, as it represents a city built in a plain, and may therefore refer to the same conquest. The city contains a high citadel, and the walls are defended at regular distances by towers, both towers and walls being surmounted by battlements, and farther protected by a moat. All the entrances of the city are closed; but against the principal gate are directed two of the before-mentioned movable war-engines, though apparently inactive, as there is no one to work them; neither are there any people within the city, where the only thing visible is a solitary date-tree in full bearing. At a short distance outside the walls, and as if issuing from some unimportant gate, is a car drawn by oxen, and conveying a young man, with, for the first time in any of the sculptures that we have seen, a woman and child carrying household utensils; the whole design intimating, as we conceive, the total desolation and abandonment of the city, neither man, woman, nor child being left within it: "And behold this day they are a desolation, and no man dwelleth therein" (Jer. xlv. 2). In the space above the car stands a man attired in the long fringed robe and other particulars of the costume of the subjects of the great king, carrying a wand, from which we infer he is a herald or messenger, and that the evacuation of the city is not a voluntary act, but by command of the conqueror.

The fifth relievo represents a beardless person introducing four bearded prisoners, whose hands are tied behind them. The hands and a foot of another figure are seen behind, shewing that the slab is imperfect; and, on examination, we find that the side, top, and bottom margins have been chopped off! It is unnecessary to describe the dress of the beardless figure, or eunuch, as it is the same as we have so minutely detailed in former pages; but his attitude is quite different, the left arm being raised, as if commanding a halt in the presence of some superior, who, we may suppose, would be found in the adjoining frieze. The prisoners are simply habited in a short kilt, having neither cap nor fillet on the head, nor sandals on the feet. The whole execution of the work is of the rudest character.



The two next friezes give us a novel and most interesting scene—the passage of a river by the army of the great king and his allies. The first represents a eunuch standing on the left hand of the picture between two warriors, with a short whip in his hand; in front of him are two other soldiers, one inflating a skin, the other standing on the bank of a river, and fastening the end of a similar skin which had been inflated, so as to prevent the escape of the air. Close to the shore a boat is moored, in which one chariot has been placed, and into which another is being lifted. In the stream are seen two warriors swimming; one on an inflated skin, the other without this assistance. It will be seen that the men are all unencumbered by clothes or accoutrements, which, as well as the war-chariots, are being conveyed in boats. The second slab shews us the horses, likewise relieved of all trappings, guided by swimmers, all of whom, whether soldiers or grooms, are supported by skins, which they hold with the left hand, and inflate as they progress, the right

hand being used to propel and direct their course. Immediately preceding the boat with the chariots is another rowed by two men, and containing domestic furniture.

The succeeding five reliefs represent winged men, or divinities, two of them holding in the left hand a basket, and presenting with the right a pine-cone; the dress and attitude being precisely like that of the larger divinity we formerly described. Of the remaining three, two only have the horned cap, whilst the third has a circlet of rosettes round the head. The right hand of each is elevated, as if in the act of prayer; and the left holds a branch of five pomegranates dependent from one stem.

The twelfth frieze represents two of the cavalry of the great king, armed with bows and spear, and wearing the conical cap with ear-pieces; coats of mail, or breastplates; their legs encased in chain-armour, over which they wear boots. Each holds the reins of his horse in the left hand, in readiness to mount at the word of command.

The thirteenth frieze displays another division of the king's army, likewise awaiting the word of command. The appointments resemble those of the last, excepting that they carry a sword in addition to the bow and spear. "The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear" (Nahum iii. 3). The background of both these slabs is entirely covered with a succession of regular conical figures, like a diapering, and here and there a stunted tree. The intention is to signify a mountainous and barren country, its great extent being indicated by the whole background being covered, hill after hill filling up the space as far as eye can reach.

A bowman, with his shield-bearer, is next seen; and behind them is a rank of slingers, bearded, and their robes having a pendent fringe unlike any we have before seen on these sculptures. The slingers are armed with short swords, and each holds a stone in his left hand, ready to supply the sling. The bowman is clad in a conical cap with ear-pieces, breast-plate reaching to the waist, and greaves. His companion, the shield-bearer, is in similar costume, except as regards the greaves and beard. The shield is curved, and the top and bottom are protected by sheaths.

The rest of the friezes consist of the following fragments: A bearded head, with a rose-decorated fillet, the black paint of the hair and beard still remaining; a well-executed head of the king; the king, his umbrella-bearer, and charioteer; head and neck of a colossal human-headed bull, with wings. The head and shoulders of an individual of the conquered nations, wearing a turban of three folds, bracelets, armlets, and ear-rings; he has a short beard and woolly hair; his hands are upraised in the attitude of awe and submission in

the presence of the monarch. And, lastly, the head and shoulders of a beardless man, whose robes are richly embroidered.

We have now to speak of the obelisk, a highly interesting and important feature of the collection.



“The Nimroud obelisk (says the *Athenæum*) is 6 feet 6 inches in height; the greatest width at top 1 foot 5½ inches, and at bottom 2 feet; the width of the two sides being somewhat less. It is made of a very defective piece of black marble, traversed obliquely through-

out its length by a broad vein of whitish heterogeneous matter. The bad quality of the marble indicates not only the deficiency of good and suitable material in the neighbourhood, but an extreme paucity of resources in a nation apparently so great; for to no other cause can we attribute the use of such an unsightly and bad stone for the purpose of so small a monument. We have formerly pointed out that these sculptured remains are far from remarkable for artistic beauty; and this obelisk forcibly illustrates our observation. For, however interesting as an historical document, as a *work of art* no one can rate it highly; and we ourselves are by no means inclined to place it on a par with any Egyptian obelisk, or even to compare it with that of the Fayoum, which bears fully as many figures. There is a want of precision in the Nimroud specimen, shewn in the lines intended to be straight and the spaces intended to be equal, but all far otherwise; a repetition and feebleness of invention, and a carelessness of execution throughout, that will ever keep it low in the scale of art. The form of this monument is not, correctly speaking, that of an obelisk; for the top is surmounted by three steps, and it is far from square in plan. The whole of the upper part, including the steps, is thickly inscribed with cuneiform characters. Each side is then divided into five compartments of sculpture, with cuneiform characters between and along the sides; and the base, for 1 foot 4 inches in height, is surrounded by entablatures of cuneiform inscription, containing twenty-three lines.

The first compartment of sculpture represents the great king, who, holding two arrows, and attended by his eunuch and bearded domestic, the captain of his guard, receives the homage of a newly subjugated province, to the government of which the person standing erect before him is constituted governor. The king seems to be in the act of presenting the arrows and a bow, as insignia of office. High in the background, between the great king and the satrap, are two remarkable emblems: one resembling the winged globe of the ancient Egyptians, the other a circle surrounding a star. The same emblems occur on other sculptures from Nimroud, and near the figures on the rocks of Nahr el Kelb. As regards the meaning of the emblems, we take one to be a contraction for that figure of the divinity which accompanies the king to battle in one of the reliefs of the former collection; but why accompanied by the globe—which, in the representation on the next compartment, is on the right instead of on the left side—we are totally at a loss to conceive, unless it be to signify that the presentation of tribute was so vast that it occupied from sunrise to sunset.

The second compartment comprises the same number of figures,

and similarly arranged, excepting that the eunuch behind the king holds an umbrella, and in the place of his satrap stands the cup-bearer with his fly-flap. In this representation the forms of the cap and robe of the person kissing the feet of the king are more distinctly delineated, and furnish matter for consideration in describing another compartment at the back of the obelisk.

In the third compartment are two men, each leading a camel of the two-humped species. The men wear the fillet round the head, and the short tunic, and are without boots and sandals, the dress being that of a people with whom the king is represented in many of the sculptures of Nimroud to be at war.

The fourth compartment exhibits a forest in a mountainous country, occupied by deer and wolves. This is an episode in the story related on the monument, intimating the vastness of the dominion of the king of Nineveh, which extended not only over the people, but over the forest and mountains inhabited solely by wild beasts. Thus in Daniel: "And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all" (Dan. ii. 38).

The fifth and last compartment on this side of the obelisk represents a people with whom we have not hitherto been acquainted, as they have not appeared in any of the former sculptures. They are a short-bearded race, wearing long robes and boots, and a remarkable cap like a bag, the end of which is made to turn back, instead of falling towards the front like the Phrygian. These people appear to be the same as those represented on the north wall of the small temple of Kalbshe as enemies of Ramses II.; but until the inscriptions are deciphered, this point must, we apprehend, remain in doubt. In this particular compartment the people carry wood or bars of metal, baskets with fruit, bags and bundles; but on others the tribute offered by the new race—the recent conquest of which the monument appears especially to commemorate—consists likewise of camels, fringed cloths, and vases of various forms and sizes. In evidence of the conquest, the actions of the figures must be particularly noted; the prostrate attitude in the first two compartments, and of those wearing the same costume who head the tribute-bearers in subsequent representations, being all indicative of fear or respect, as exhibited in the bended back and knee, which, as they advance, is exchanged for the prostrate posture of submission and homage yet common in the countries from which the monument is brought. The other people, of which we formerly spoke as contending with the king in battle, bring elephants, monkeys, and baboons with

human faces. They are clad in short tunics, and wear a fillet round the head, but are bare-footed.

This completes the description of the front of the obelisk."

The first compartment on the left side contains one bearded and one beardless figure, apparently belonging to the suite of the satrap of the great king, together with a groom, in the vestments of the newly conquered people, holding a richly caparisoned horse. The second compartment has a repetition of the bearded and beardless figures, ushering in three of the new race; the first of whom is in the attitude of awe before mentioned, whilst the remaining two follow with tribute in a richly ornamented box and basket. The third represents a bull decorated for the sacrifice, followed by a straight-horned ox,—as we judge from the cloven hoof, length of leg, and position of the horn (not a rhinoceros, as has been surmised)—and an animal of the gazelle class. It is to be observed that these animals are neither led nor held, and that the bull, the leader, is decorated for the sacrifice; from which we infer that they do not appear as tribute, but as shewing the abundance of food in the king's dominions—and that as it was the custom to sacrifice to the gods the animals intended for the royal table, the bull, the chief of his class, is decorated accordingly. The fourth compartment contains four figures of the race, wearing the fillet round the head, and with the feet bare. Two carry bundles, and the two behind bear a piece of fringed cloth slung upon a pole. The fifth again shews the bearded and beardless attendants, and three of the people wearing the fillet, with boots upon their feet. The first is in the attitude of respect, another carries a bag, the third a basket. The inscription beneath contains twenty-seven lines.

The first compartment on the back of the obelisk exhibits two camels of the Bactrian race; the first led by one of the newly conquered people, wearing the peculiar cap and boots, but short instead of long robes; the second camel is driven by one in a similar costume. The second compartment contains five of the same people clad in long robes, carrying bars of precious woods, vases, wine-skins, wine-cup, and a long two-handled basket empty. The third compartment shews an elephant, and two men wearing a fillet and short tunic, and having bare feet. Each man is leading a monkey, the hindermost having likewise a small monkey on his shoulder. The fourth compartment represents five of the same people with long robes and bare feet,—carrying, for tribute-baskets, what appear to be pieces of cloth, wine-skins, and bars of wood or metal. The fifth compartment contains also five of the same people, similarly attired, and carrying single-handled and two-handled baskets,

and large bundles. The lower inscription on this side contains twenty-nine lines.

The first compartment of the fourth side contains five of the newly conquered people, capped, booted, and long-robed; bearing, as tribute, bars of metal or wood, round bundles, and long flat baskets with fruit. The second compartment is similar to the last; but the men carry square bundles and bags like wine-skins over their shoulders, and baskets in their hands; the last, a long flat basket, containing fruit like pines. The third compartment contains two men, without cap or fillet, barefooted, and clad in the short tunic, guiding two human-headed baboons chained. The fourth has four men wearing the fillet and long robes, and bearing, for tribute, baskets, long bundles over the shoulder, and bars of wood. The fifth and concluding compartment resembles the last; but the tribute consists of baskets, wine-skins, and bundles. The entablature of inscription on this side contains thirty-eight lines. This completes the details of the obelisk.

The next importation gave still further evidence of the value of the labours of Layard. It included one sitting statue, a large-cuneiform inscription, and fifteen friezes, representing divinities and other figures of colossal dimensions; several battle-scenes and processions; and many minor fragments, such as painted bricks, which formed the cornice above the slabs, the ornaments being handsome-rosette designs; some bricks semi-cylindrical in shape, and some having cuneiform characters stamped upon them, whilst on others the characters are painted. The sitting figure in black basalt was brought from Kalah Sherghat, and is remarkable as the only monument as yet recovered from that mound. The statue is of the size of life, but is much mutilated, the head and hands having been destroyed by violence. The square block on which it sits is covered on three sides by a cuneiform inscription, and on one of its sides the learned have read the name of the builder of the old north-west palace of Nimroud. The figure, unlike the sculptures from that palace, is in full, and not in relief, and may have represented the king. Part of the beard is to be distinguished; the hands appear to have rested on the knees; and a long robe, reaching to the ancles, is still preserved.

A principal place in our catalogue, as of great importance to the student, must be assigned to the slab containing the inscription, consisting of twenty-two lines of arrow-head characters, each character being $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and most sharply and beautifully engraved. This inscription is given a few pages further on.

The upper portion of a colossal frieze represents the king drink-

ing, attended by his cup-bearer. Around the usual truncated cap peculiar to the king is placed a diadem, tied by a fillet, the extremities of which are decorated with the winged bull. The border of his sleeve is embroidered with the honeysuckle and pine-cone ornament, and round the neck of his robe is wrought the winged bull and antelopes, separated by the honeysuckle. Two daggers are placed in his sash; he holds his bow in his left hand, and in his right the cup which he is raising to his lips; the ordinary ear-rings and rosette bracelets complete his attire. The eunuch resembles those already so fully described, the only point worthy of remark being the fly-flap, the handle of which is terminated by the head of an animal, most highly finished.



The next represents a colossal figure of the king, and is remarkable in every way for the extraordinary handling and minute finish of the sculpture, and for the perfect state in which it has been preserved to us. The king appears to be walking, supported by a long staff held in his right hand, his left resting on the hilt of his sword; the upper part of his truncated cap and the cone on the top of it are both closely studded with gems; and his diadem is elaborately ornamented, and tied behind with fillets having three tassels at the extremities. His hair and beard are arranged in more than ordinary numerous minute curls, executed with a finish quite astonishing, most curiously illustrating in this ancient portrait a characteristic that has lived through so many ages in the East, the operations of the dyeing and dressing of the beard being in the first importance amongst the modern Persians. The decorations upon his robes appear to be symbolical and legendary, for the breast and sleeves of his tunic are embroidered with the sacred tree, and the hems of the sleeves are further adorned with a border of the stag butting at the

honeysuckle. The lower part of his robe is bordered by a fringe, and above the fringe is wrought a procession of the king receiving, and his attendants introducing, prisoners. His mantle is fringed, and the hems are embroidered with the lotus and pine alternately intertwined, and with the human-headed lion, the bull, and the sacred tree. He has tasseled cords round his waist; the extremities of his armlets are terminated by exquisitely-carved bulls' heads; his bracelets consist of numerous small chains united by rosette clasps; his sandals are adorned with pearls; and the point of his highly-decorated scabbard has two fighting lions intertwined in a death struggle, all beautifully executed, and highly characteristic of the animals.

The next frieze that arrests our attention is a battle-scene and rout of the enemy, the front part being on some other slab. Two of the king's soldiers, wearing the conical cap, and armed with spears, are pursuing a fugitive whose horse has fallen; behind them is a falling figure; and flying overhead is a vulture carrying the entrails of the dead in his beak.

Another relief is also a representation of the rout and flight of the enemy by horse and foot, with the dead and dying on the ground. The king's troops are headed by a eunuch and his companion shield-bearer, both on horseback; and immediately following them are two bearded horsemen discharging arrows at the flying infantry of the enemy. The shield-bearers have their shields slung behind them, and are holding the reins of the horses of their fighting companions, and the manes of those on which they themselves ride. The foot soldiers, wearing the beard and conical cap, and armed with bow, mace, and sword, follow in military order. Under the horse of the eunuch lies a headless body, and suspended from the tasseled breast-armour of his horse is the head of one of the vanquished. Before the foremost horseman is a foot soldier already wounded, endeavouring to screen himself with his hand. The bows, quivers, and arms of the dead and dying are scattered over the ground; and above the combatants hovers the ominous bird of prey.

In the next we see the eunuch warrior in battle. The chief officer is represented in his war-chariot with three horses, and accompanied by his charioteer. Highly decorated quivers are suspended at the side of his chariot, to which also is fixed his spear, and his bossed shield hangs at the back. The breast-plate and tunic of the eunuch are much ornamented, and thongs are bound round his left arm to protect it from the recoil of the string when using his bow, from which he is in the act of discharging an arrow. Behind the chariot, and with their backs turned towards it, are seen the enemy, one standing, discharging

his arrows upwards, and the other kneeling, also using the bow. Before the horses, a man, who has already been wounded by two arrows, but who retains his bow in the left hand, attempts to arrest the progress of the horses, while another, also in retreat, turns to discharge an arrow at those in the chariot; and in front is one of the king's foot soldiers coolly driving his sword into the breast of his foe, whom he has driven back upon his knees. Behind these last is a raised mound or earthwork, upon which two are contending upon their knees, the victor retaining his sword and wicker shield, which he holds between himself and his disarmed adversary, whose bow and quiver have fallen. Above and below are men falling pierced by arrows, and the battle-field is strewn with the arms of the slain. The bird of prey hovers over all. The king's soldiers, as usual, wear the conical cap—the enemy the simple fillet.

In the following frieze the direction of the figures is reversed; they face to the left, instead of to the right. The king's beardless officer in his chariot, accompanied by his charioteer, is pursuing the cavalry of the enemy into a river. Four horsemen are represented in active flight, but one attempts to aid a foot soldier who has been struck down, and who is stretching out his hand imploring for succour; whilst another of the foremost of the fugitives seizes the opportunity to turn and discharge his arrows at the pursuers; and under the horses of the chariot is a wounded man endeavouring to withdraw the arrows with which he has been pierced in the side and in the thigh.

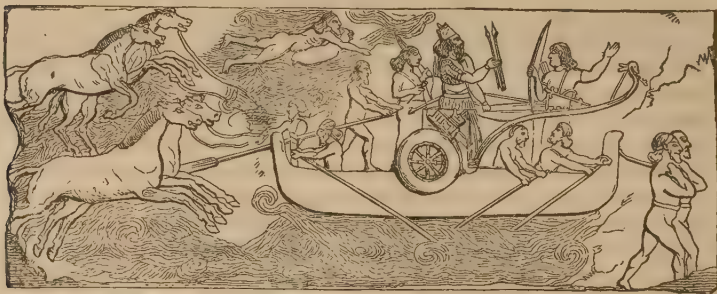
The return of the conquerors is seen in the next relief, where women upon the walls of a battlemented city or palace are watching the triumphal procession of the victorious army. As the walls of the city extend entirely across the frieze, there is little doubt that only a portion of the subject is represented. Four battlemented towers are seen; and beneath the battlements are circular decorations, which lead us to suppose that the external walls of a palace, rather than of a city, are intended to be portrayed—a surmise further supported by the appearance of the women, who always occupy the upper stories in Oriental buildings. Upon the walls are several women considerably disposed to *embonpoint*: they have the hair flowing over the shoulders, but confined round the head by a fillet; and their dress consists of a simple robe restrained round the waist by a sash; their attitudes are various, the first having her arms elevated and palms open, the Eastern posture in pronouncing a blessing; the next her hands similarly open, but her arms more advanced; whilst the third, who stands by herself, has only one hand raised. The actions of the two obviously younger females are far

more lively and expressive of interest in what is passing without ; the head of one being turned towards her companion, whose head is raised as if in the act of speaking. In slow and stately procession before the walls march the chariots, drawn by two horses: the first, led by a groom, contains the chief standard-bearer with his standard—an armed figure discharging an arrow from his bow, and standing upon a horse or bull (for the stone is so much abraded as to render it difficult to distinguish which). The second chariot has no leading groom, though it conveys a standard-bearer, the ensign of whose standard has been unfortunately defaced. The dress of the men, their arms, and the accoutrements of the chariots and horses, have all been described in former pages.

The next slab shews a procession conveying tribute and prisoners to the great king after his victorious return. The train is led by two officers of importance, clad in long, fringed, and embroidered robes ; swords, with richly decorated scabbards and hilts, are suspended over their shoulders ; and sandals are on their feet. The one is bearded ; the other a eunuch, who wears a piece of embroidered linen folded round his head ; and both have their hands crossed in that peculiarly Eastern attitude of respect remarked upon in previous pages. A double bale of embroidered stuffs is placed above, but not resting on their heads, indicating the spoil they are supposed to introduce, but carried by meaner hands. Next come two officers, similar in all particulars, except that the head of the eunuch has no covering, and that he is situated on the left hand of the bearded figure. Three bars are placed horizontally above their heads, representing probably ebony, or other precious woods—a part of the spoil. Succeeding these is a single eunuch, clothed like the others, and having two tusks of an elephant above his head: his upraised left hand intimates that he is introducing the personage who follows him, evidently a prisoner of distinction, and probably, from his decorated diadem, the sovereign of the newly-conquered race. This prisoner is barefooted, and his arms are confined by a cord, held in the left hand of a soldier of large stature, who seems driving him on with his clenched right hand : “ I give him a charge to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets” (Isaiah x. 6). The appearance of this fallen ruler, thus humiliatingly forced into the presence of the conqueror by his barbarous conductor, strongly excites our compassion ; and his whole attitude brings to our mind the passage in Samuel, describing the manner in which Agag approached Saul after the defeat of the Amalekites: “ And Agag came unto him delicately” (1 Samuel xv. 32). Above the head of the prince are two square baskets, and over

that of the soldier a semicircular two-handled basket. Next succeeds a eunuch wearing sandals, but in other respects clothed like the first prisoner, whose chief officer he evidently is; above his head is a small semicircular basket, and his arms are bound together, and secured to the two barefooted and inferior prisoners wearing the short tunic and the fillet round the head. The cord which binds their arms and secures them to one another is held by a second soldier of gigantic stature in the left hand, which likewise holds his bow, the right hand being raised in the act of striking with the staff which he holds in his grasp. Both these large soldiers wear the high conical cap, tunic midway down the leg, and quiver slung at their backs, their bows being on their left hands.

Another slab, shewing the king crossing a river, is a continuation of one in the last importation. The former frieze represented several men swimming, supported by inflated skins; horses, also swimming, and guided by their grooms or riders; and boats, conveying war-chariots, arms, and domestic furniture. This fresh frieze shews us the king in his fully-equipped war-chariot, which has been placed across the centre of a long boat, with high prow and stern. The vessel is steered by a stalwart naked man, with a long paddle; it is propelled by three rowers; and its progress further accelerated by two men towing on the shore, or in a shallow part of the stream. The king seems magnificently dressed; has three daggers in his girdle, his sword by his side, in his left hand his bow, and in his right two arrows. Before him stands one of his principal beardless officers,



pointing with his left hand to the enemy, who, we may imagine, occupy the opposite shore. Behind the king is another eunuch, in long fringed robes, and bearing the usual arms; his left hand holding his bow, and his right grasping a mace. Standing in the stern of the vessel is a man who holds the long reins of four horses,

which are swimming—though the actions of two seem more to resemble galloping, and another is starting back. One naked man is swimming, supported by the skin which he is inflating.

The next slab also continues one in the last importation, representing the evacuation of a city. The first portion contained a city with two war-engines, in front of which appeared to be a herald; whilst from a side gate issued a car, containing women, a child, and domestic utensils. Only a portion of the ox that drew the car was visible. On the present slab we have the front portion of the ox; and immediately before it another similar car, likewise occupied by women and children, and drawn by oxen. Other unyoked oxen are seen in front; and a tree indicates the nature of the country which surrounds the city. Facing the herald, in the upper portion of the preceding slab, are two scribes recording the spoil; whilst a herdsman is driving away flocks of sheep, rams, and goats. In front of all are two men carrying off plunder, but of what nature the obliterations of time do not allow us to discover.

Another is a fragment upon which is represented the winged emblem of the divinity in front of the king, who has various mystic emblems suspended round his neck, comprising the moon, two stars, and the three-horned cap. A winged divinity, with the three-horned cap, follows the king.

In the next frieze is seen a young man habited in a long fringed robe, fitting close to the upper part of his figure. Secured round his waist by tasseled cords is a species of train formed of five rows of feather-shaped fringes, and he is girt with a broad girdle in which are placed three daggers. He wears sandals, armlets, rosette bracelets, and ear-rings; and round his throat is a necklace, and a cord and tassels. Upon his head is the two-horned cap; and in addition to the ordinary crisply curled hair, is a long bunch, likewise curled, and bound with cords and tassels. His right hand and arm are raised, and the left is extended, holding a wreath of small and large beads placed alternately. The most remarkable features, however, in this sculpture are the representations of four wings, two raised and two drooping; and on that suspended from his neck are two bands, from the upper of which depend ornaments consisting of rosettes surrounded by a ring; and from the lower, four stars likewise enclosed in rings. This bull-horn head-dress, and the star-like ornaments, suggest some connexion with the worship of the Assyrian Venus, Mylitta or Astarte. Across the centre of the frieze are 26 lines of cuneiform characters, avoiding, however, the left wing and part of the right, which are left uninscribed.

A second figure of "Nisroch" faces the reverse way to the last. He has here the eagle head and two wings, the pine-cone in his upraised right hand, and the left hangs down holding the square basket. The hems of his garments in the present example being symbolically ornamented, are deserving of more particular notice. On one hem is delineated the pine-cone and lotus border; on another the lotus and honeysuckle; and on a third a battle between Nisroch and the human-headed lion, in which the former is victorious. Nisroch on this embroidered representation has *four* wings. The extravagant development of muscle in the limbs of this and other principal figures does not, in our opinion, arise in any whim or conceit of the sculptor, but is merely typical of strength—power.

In the next slab a human figure with two wings, as distinguished for its high preservation and delicate finish as the figure of the king before described, is seen. This figure faces towards the left, and his upraised left hand holds a branch bearing five flowers erect, and on his left arm a fallow-deer. His dress differs in no respect, as regards the shape, from that of the other winged human figures; but the mantle and robe are richly ornamented, fringed, and tasseled, and his minutely curled hair is confined by a fillet with a rosette-formed ornament in front.

The last colossal sculpture has two wings; the dress resembles the last, except that a chaplet of roses or rosettes is placed upon the head. He holds a goat on his left arm, and in his upraised right hand he holds an ear of wheat. He faces towards the right.

Amongst the stamped bricks, there is one containing a most interesting impression, in addition to that of the king, namely, that of the foot of a weasel, which had run over the recent brick before it had left the hand of the fabricator.

One of the most interesting of the sculptures represents the incidents and occupations of domestic life. The wheel-like figure with serrated projections, on the left of the composition, is supposed to be intended to exhibit the ground-plan of a circular building, surrounded by embattled turrets, in which various culinary processes are being carried on. Of the two upper subjects in it, that to the left shews a female superintending the boiling of provisions in earthen pots or jars, of various sizes, supported on frames resembling tripods; the females to the right are evidently engaged in grinding corn; the sitting figure is working a hand-mill. Below, two figures are in the act of dressing the carcass of some animal, perhaps a calf or a goat; while, in the opposite compartment, a baker is seen tending his oven. The whole probably represents the



kitchen attached to the adjoining pavilion, the entrance to which is between two columns surmounted by goats or ibexes. In front of,

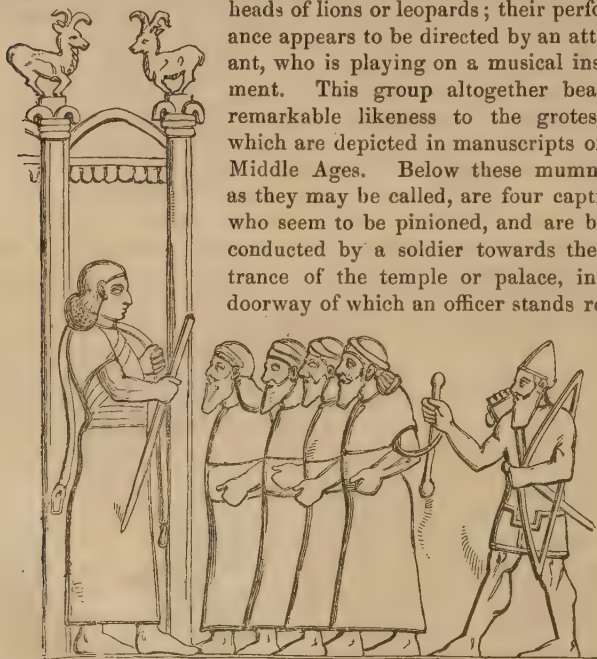


or within the pavilion, is a slave grooming a horse; and a group of those animals are represented loose, some drinking at a tank; they



are drawn with great truth and character. In the upper corner, to the right, are two figures dancing, attired in masks resembling the

heads of lions or leopards; their performance appears to be directed by an attendant, who is playing on a musical instrument. This group altogether bears a remarkable likeness to the grotesques which are depicted in manuscripts of the Middle Ages. Below these mummers, as they may be called, are four captives, who seem to be pinioned, and are being conducted by a soldier towards the entrance of the temple or palace, in the doorway of which an officer stands ready



to receive them. The details of this singular composition admit of a few general remarks, apart from any consideration of the

meaning of the subject, to which we shall presently refer. That tripods were used by the ancient Persians for boiling meat, either in metal vessels or in earthen pots (*ollæ*), appears as certain as that they were commonly used for the same purpose by the Greeks and Romans, and still later by the inhabitants of Europe in the Middle Ages. A tripod formed of a golden bowl, supported on a three-headed bronze serpent, was found among the spoils of the Persian army after the battle of Platææ. In the present instance the shape of the tripods is not well defined; they would almost seem to be utensils supported on four feet; but it is more probable that the primitive fashion of three was intended to be represented. It will be observed that the legs of the tripods end in the feet of animals. The forms of the vessels placed on the tripods, in the example under notice, partake more of the character of those which, in remote antiquity, were made of earth, and not of metal. The hand-mill shewn in the cooking scene is of the earliest form; and as in the East the process of grinding corn by means of such instruments was chiefly executed by women in ancient times, as it is indeed at present, we are justified in concluding the figures in this compartment to be intended for females. The only male is the baker. The oven to which he is attending is of a peculiar type; the door was probably in the centre of the upper part. This bas-relief is supposed to represent a castle and encampment.



A slab placed beside the one just described exhibits the triumphant return of the victorious king to his camp. The king is seen in his chariot, attended by his chief eunuch; before him, but aloft, flies the bird of prey, bearing a human head in its claw. The chariots are preceded by musicians, and by soldiers carrying the heads of the slain, which they appear to display with exultation. It will be observed that the eagle invariably follows the course of the chariots on

these slabs, whether the subject depicted be a hunting expedition or a battle; it was intended, probably, as a type both of power and of destruction, and appears to have been adopted as an ensign by the sovereigns of Persia. The reader of Quintus Curtius will remember that a spread-eagle of gold was placed between the statues of Belus and Ninus, also of gold, on the yoke of the horses which drew the chariot of Darius. In the present example, the yokes of the chariots are undecorated: but the curious form of the poles to which they are attached is well worth observation; and although the head-stalls of the horses are not adorned with the lofty plumes which distinguish other specimens in the collection, their trappings are otherwise of a most gorgeous character; yet it should be remarked that these trappings scarcely differ in any respect from the harness which was used on state occasions in the seventeenth century.

A fine, though unfortunately broken slab, represents the flight of an Arab mounted on a camel: he is closely pursued by two horsemen,



whom he seems to be deriding, or from whom he may be imploring quarter. His pursuers ride with their lances directed towards the ground, for the purpose, doubtless, of despatching the wounded, several of whom are scattered about. The Arab guides his camel by the aid of a halter only. In rendering the attitude of the camel, whether in motion or at rest, the ancient sculptor has been remarkably successful. There is another slab representing a group of those animals, with a woman, executed with extraordinary truth and power. The student of the military costume of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries cannot fail to be struck, continues the writer in the *Illustrated News*, by the strong resemblance of the dress of the pursuers of the Arab to the warlike costume of the Norman times in England. The conical-shaped helmet, and the long hauberk de-

ascending to the knee, are identically the same, as may be seen by comparing these specimens with the effigies on seals of the Norman period, and on the coins of the Norman sovereigns of Sicily. And it is not only in these respects that points of analogy between very distant periods of the world's history may be traced: there are others, a few of which it may be worth while to indicate on the present occasion, although we give no illustrative examples. They who have seen these sculptures cannot fail to remember that the fortified buildings represented on them curiously resemble, in important respects, the castellated edifices of Europe during the Middle Ages: examples of battlements finished by acutely-cusped merlons may still be seen in the north of Italy and other parts; and it may also be observed, that these Oriental battlements project, as though they were machicolated—a fashion which did not prevail in Europe until the end of the thirteenth century. It is not clear that they actually *were* machicolated, but they certainly have that appearance. Again, these sculptures shew the early use of a large shield, exactly resembling the *pavoise* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, under cover of which the besiegers of fortified places advanced to the assault. Such shields as are represented on the Nimroud sculptures appear to have been formed of wicker-work, and were probably strengthened with iron and leather. The sculptures also shew the early use of the scaling-ladder, of the covered battering-ram, and the process of undermining walls. It is not a little curious that one of the slabs represents the besieged using iron or bronze chains to arrest the action of the battering-ram of their assailants.

We must now speak of the relics recently lodged in the Great Hall of the Museum. They are bas-reliefs representing, one, a Winged Human-headed Lion; the other, a Winged Human-headed Bull. The two reliefs have been so perfectly described by Mr. Layard, that we cannot do better than extract his description for the purpose of conveying the best notion of these later arrivals.

First of the Winged Lion: "This colossal figure formed one side of a portal leading from an outer chamber into the great hall of the north-west palace at Nimroud. The one selected stood on the north side of the western entrance. It was in admirable preservation, and about twelve feet square. Each entrance to the same chamber, and the entrance to most of the halls of the Assyrian palaces, was formed by pairs of similar monsters, either lions or bulls with a human head and the wings of a bird. There can be little doubt that they were invested with a mythic or symbolic character; that they typified the Deity or some of his attributes, his omniscience, his ubiquity, and his might. Like the Egyptian

Sphynxes, they were probably introduced into the architecture of the people on account of their sacred character. Thirteen pairs of them—some, however, very much injured—were discovered among the ruins of Nimroud. At Kouyunjik five pairs of winged bulls were dug out; but neither in these ruins nor at Khorsabad was the winged lion found. They differed considerably in size, the largest being about sixteen and a half feet square, and the smallest scarcely five; and in every instance were sculptured out of one solid slab. The head and fore-part were finished all round, the body and hind-legs being in high relief. The spaces behind the back and between the legs were covered with a cuneiform inscription."

The Winged Human-headed Bull is thus described: "The figure is similar in character to the Winged Lion, and formed the eastern side of the southern entrance to the great hall in the north-west palace at Nimroud. It was sculptured out of yellow limestone. The human head of the bull forming the opposite side of the entrance is now in the British Museum.



CHAPTER XV.

ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS, AND THEIR INTERPRETATION.

THE wedge-shaped and arrow-headed inscriptions of the Assyrian palaces have been frequently referred to during the progress of this narrative. The adventures and successes of European scholarship in interpreting this writing would entitle the subject to especial notice, even were its contents less important to our future knowledge of Assyrian history. Inscriptions in this wedge-shaped character are found on other monuments than those of Nineveh; they are met with at Passgardae, Persepolis, Ván, and Behistun, and with the external appearance of these Europeans have long been familiar through copies. The wedge-shaped signs of Assyrian inscriptions, or the cuneiform characters, as they are commonly called, are of two kinds: the first form is that of a straight line divided at the top like the notch of an arrow, and ending in a point, so as to resemble a wedge; others look like the two sides of an obtuse angle. A number of these wedges of larger or smaller size, and perpendicular or horizontal in their arrangement, are grouped to form a letter, and the letters are separated from each other by a particular sign.

About the beginning of the present century, an unknown scholar studying at the university of Bonn was bold enough to attempt, without the advantages of Oriental learning, to extract the hidden meaning of an inscription copied by Niebuhr from a monument at Persepolis. Men of the most powerful intellect were just applying themselves to discover a phonetic language in the hieroglyphics of Egypt, with what great results is at this time of day sufficiently known. But the Rosetta stone discovered in Egypt contained a Greek manuscript of the hieroglyphical sentences. Plutarch had dissected the Pantheon, and given the names of the gods; and Manetho had classified the dynasties, and transmitted the names of the kings. Without these helps the meaning of the signs might have remained a mystery to this day. No such aid awaited the young German. The inscription upon which he commenced his labours was written in three languages; what they were was doubtful, whether either was a known tongue concealed under this curious alphabet was uncertain. The first step, then, was to find out what sounds were represented by these signs, before inquiring what those sounds might signify when ascertained. All this has been done; and with so much

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certainly, that Major Rawlinson at Baghdad, and Professor Lassen at Bonn, could sit down to interpret the same passage, and furnish readings only just discrepant enough to shew that they have not acted in concert. Now, if this be but an accidental coincidence; if by assuming that certain unknown signs are the equivalents of certain known letters, exactly the names which we might expect come out from the process; if the right letters always occur at the right part of the words, and are found in other words composed of the same elements; lastly, if all that is found in these inscriptions when interpreted agrees with history, and only varies to make it fuller and more exact,—then we have an accumulation of probabilities in favour of the soundness of the principle of interpretation, which cannot be rejected without shaking the very foundations of evidence.

It was Professor Grotefend, of Bonn, who first led a gallery into this treasury of antiquity by determining nearly one third of the entire alphabet. His first discovery was made in 1801, and published in a Brunswick literary journal. He afterwards wrote an account of his system for M. Heeren, who published it as an appendix to his *History of Ancient Nations*. There are on the walls of Persepolis a number of inscriptions, generally short, and almost always written in three languages, all of which are cuneiform, but in each the character forms a different alphabet. The first of these was supposed to be that of the reigning dynasty, viz. Persian. It will facilitate an understanding of the process which Grotefend employed, if we anticipate a subsequent stage of the discovery by translating two of the inscriptions. The first runs thus: "Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenian." The second: "Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the son of Darius the Achæmenian." Grotefend had taken for granted that the subjects of these inscriptions were kings, since the writing was found in company with the portraitures of the monarchs. He then observed that the same name (Darius) which commenced the first inscription, and was therefore most likely the subject of the whole sentence, was found in the second, not at the commencement, nor in quite the same form, but with a slight difference in the termination. He hence concluded that this king was introduced in some relation to the one who was the subject of the second (Xerxes). He supposed that one king was son of the other, and so accounted for the inflexion, in the second sentence, of the word ultimately translated Darius. Having carried out this principle to all the proper names in the inscriptions, and satisfied himself that he had here a succession of three genealogical names, he proceeded to try and find out to whom these belonged. He turned aside to consult

history; and having, by an examination of all the authorities, satisfied himself that Persepolis was the work of the Achæmenian dynasty, he proceeded to try their names in succession. Cyrus and Cambyzes would not fit; for none of the three names of the inscriptions began with the same letter. Cyrus and Artaxerxes were equally inadmissible, as the names in the inscriptions were nearly all of the same length, while one of these was twice as long as the other. The first was composed of seven letters, separated from one another by the point before mentioned; and to these he gave hypothetically the following value: D-A-R-I-I-E-U-SCH. This he compared with the equivalent of Darius in Hebrew, *Daryavesch*, and was strengthened in his conjecture. The name of Xerxes appeared to be formed of the following letters: KH-SCH-H-E-R-SCH-E. The value of these letters having been thus fixed, the first four letters of the word which he thought meant king were KH-SCH-P-H. He was informed that in the Zend, once spoken in the country of the inscriptions, KH-SCH-F-I signified king. The proper name of the king and his title having been thus disposed of, Grotefend was led by a concurrence of reasons, apparently trivial when viewed apart, to consider the third word in each sentence which preceded the word "king," as an epithet or honorary title. It had four letters, the first of which, according to the hypothesis, ought to be an E, and the third an R, to agree with the same characters found in the name of Darius. This time he went to the Zend; and finding that the word spelt E-GH-R-E meant "great," he adopted that reading here. Grotefend had thus constructed a system by which the whole inscription might be read; and he soon proceeded to test it in a manner which may be more easily illustrated by the English names. Thus, if the three names were Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, it is evident that the first and second letters of the first name should not occur again; the third should occur as the sixth of that name; the *t* would not again appear; the *a* must be the second of the second name; the *p* must not occur again, but the *e* should appear in the third name.

In its beginnings Grotefend's great discovery was thus a guess, and yet not more a guess than was Newton's idea of the law of gravitation, till subsequent application had confirmed it. The professor obtained in this manner the fragment of an alphabet, and approached the true mode of spelling so nearly, that those best qualified to form an opinion have never hesitated a second as to its adoption.

An important step had been taken in the right direction; but here the progress of discovery halted, and it was long doubtful

whence new light was to arrive. Out of the forty characters, only twelve, at most, were known. The next great step in the discovery was made by M. Burnouf, who, by means of his intimate knowledge of the Zend language, interpreted, at least approximately, two short inscriptions from Hamadan in 1836. He also ascertained that one of the inscriptions at Persepolis contained a number of proper names, of four of which he was able to fix the true reading. The alphabet was considerably extended by this performance, and confidence in its power was so fully established, that it only needed the application of a critical knowledge of Zend, Sanscrit, and other dialects cognate to the old language of Persia, to solve the difficulty.

In Professor Lassen, of Bonn, the pupil of A. W. Schlegel, a man of almost universal Orientalism, these requisites were found. Between 1836 and 1844 he published three memoirs, developing an alphabet far more perfect than any which had hitherto appeared, and which nearly perfected the task of alphabetical discovery.

While the continental scholars were working in their quiet studies on copies of inscriptions more or less accurate, by some happy fortune a young officer of the East India Company's army, not behind any German recluse in antiquarian zeal, was attached to our mission in Persia. Colonel Rawlinson, being ignorant of what was going on in Europe, or of the processes by which Grotefend had been led to the discoveries of which he had heard, set to work to decipher two of the inscriptions at Hamadan. He found them in every respect identical, except an epithet, and the groups being arranged, like Grotefend's, genealogically, he applied the same process, arrived at the same conclusion, and succeeded in reading part of the text of the inscription. Burnouf's work on the Zend now came to his aid, and supplied him with a source of abundant analogical aid. The great Behistan inscription, with its 400 lines, was of great service to him, as it furnished him with a vast addition of material for analysis. With these means he constructed an alphabet, differing only in one character from that formed by Professor Lassen at Bonn. That two men, working at so great a distance, should have discovered one and the same organisation in these signs, is a circumstance in itself sufficient to shew how sure were the data on which they proceeded.

One of the cuneiform alphabets had now been read ; the language of the text proved to be an old form of Persian easily interpreted by the analogies of modern Zend, and the Sanscrit of the Vedas. The industry and acumen of Major Rawlinson has worked out the problem so far, that further inquiry will relate only to the refinements of grammatical criticism.

The same work had now to be performed for the Assyrian texts ; but here, while the process of analysis was essentially the same, its application was accompanied with tenfold difficulties. The Persian alphabet contained forty distinct characters. The Assyrian text appeared to contain 600 characters. When Rawlinson had worked at it for some time, he found that some of these were only variants, or slightly deviating forms of the same letter. Some, too, stood for things, and were not alphabetic signs of letters. Others represented syllables ; but after all, there remained 150 apparently alphabetic letters. The value of them having been determined, the language had to be mastered. An unexpected aid was about this time discovered. Just as Arab, Persian, and Turk exist side by side in Mesopotamia at the present day, so did the Assyrian, the Persian or Mede, and the Scythian in the days of Darius. To this circumstance we owe it that any progress has been made in their decipherment. All of them are trilingual ; one written in Persian is addressed to the Indo-German races ; another was Assyrian ; and the third, which, as yet, is only partially deciphered, is understood to be a Tartar tongue. The Behistun inscription from which Colonel Rawlinson picked out his Assyrian, contains from 80 to 100 proper names, which he could now read in the Persian cuneiform writing ; it was therefore not difficult to construct an Assyrian alphabet pretty nearly accurate. The most frequently recurring words, as father, son, country, rebel, conqueror, and the like, were soon recognised. When the sound had been approximatively determined, it was found that the language was very nearly allied to the Hebrew and the ancient Chaldee. It will not be supposed that even after this discovery, Colonel Rawlinson's task was henceforth easy. Obstacles lay in his way, which students who learn a language with all the aids of lexicons, grammars, and annotated texts, have no conception. Thus, this Behistun inscription—Rawlinson's *Reading made Easy*—is engraved on a rock at an elevation of 300 feet above the plain ; and its delicately executed characters had to be read by the aid of a telescope ; besides which, a part of it was peeled off, and irrecoverably lost. The inscriptions at Persepolis were so short, so crowded with proper names, and so full of repetition, that it was difficult to ascertain what the real language was. In spite of all these impediments, the meaning of about 500 words is certainly determined, and as these contain many substantives, verbs, and adjectives, with probably all the prepositions, they suffice to explain the meaning of any simple record of events, and such is the character of most of these inscriptions.

The inscriptions at Khorsabad are never found upon any of the façades, but run along the sides of the chambers, forming a line

between the upper and lower bas-reliefs. There are also shorter ones engraved upon the bottoms of the dresses of the different figures, and others still briefer between the legs of the bulls at the door-ways, as well as on the large flags which pave the entrance to the doors. Besides these, others, seemingly consisting of a single word, are to be seen over the heads of captives, and the representations of different towns. These Botta conjectures to be proper names. Another class of inscriptions was discovered upon the back of the gypsum slabs which formed the panelling of the chambers. Botta at first accounted for this fact by supposing that the remains of some still more ancient building had been employed in the construction of the Khorsabad monument; but as the inscriptions were always the same, and invariably placed in the very middle of the block, he came to the conclusion that they must represent the name or genealogy of the monarch who raised the structure, or else commemorate some historical fact. This supposition is strengthened by the circumstance that the inscriptions in question are also cut upon the sides of the stones which formed the angles of the chambers. They were not executed with the same care and nicety as those upon the walls of the chambers, but were evidently placed in the position they occupied in the same manner, and for the same reasons, that coins and medals are deposited under the foundation-stones of modern buildings.

The inscriptions at Khorsabad are, without exception, all written in the cuneiform character, and, with few variations, the same as that employed at Nimroud. This fact fixes the date of the monument anterior to the termination of the Assyrian empire. Botta gives at great length a catalogue of the characters he met with at Khorsabad, and also a list of the different groups formed by these simple characters or elements, and finds these groups, including the variations which he observed in their form, to amount to six hundred and forty-two. The number of simple elements in each group varied from one to fourteen, but never exceeded the latter number. Botta is of opinion that the different groups are not resolvable into their simple elements, but that each represents a separate sound, as in Chinese: in this view he differs from all other inquirers. At Khorsabad a great many inscriptions illustrate historical subjects, and it cannot be supposed that they always contain the same individual words. With so small a number of groups, therefore, it is impossible each group can have represented a word; it must evidently have stood for either a letter or a syllable merely. The words, too, generally consist of a number of signs or groups, varying from one to four, from which it may be concluded that the language is syllabic,

or that, at least, the signs representing the consonants contain also the necessary accompaniment of vowels. Botta was at first inclined to believe in the co-existence of another system of writing, on account of the complexity of the cuneiform, and also because he discovered bricks, vases, and gems, with inscriptions somewhat resembling the Phœnician character. He accounts for this, however, by supposing that the cuneiform letters may, like the Chinese, for ordinary use, be written quickly, and, as is the case with hieroglyphics, be reduced to such simplicity as to become almost irreconisable as variants of the normal form. He also suggests as a reason for the two systems of writing, that as the Phœnician-like characters were always found upon small articles, such as gems, vases, cylinders, &c., they might have been the work of foreign workmen, anxious to leave some mark of their nationality, or may have been engraved by the captives who were kept prisoners by the monarchs of Assyria. This may certainly have been the case at Babylon, where many of these objects with the inscriptions in question were discovered, and where there was a constant communication with the Phœnician populations inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean.

There is one remarkable fact connected with the cuneiform inscriptions of Khorsabad. No modification ever, or hardly ever, is observed at the commencement or in the middle of the words. The termination alone is affected. This peculiarity, Botta thought, went far to prove that the language was not Semitic, as in the latter class of languages the changes always occur in the beginning, nor is it of the Arian family, as there are no traces of prefixed prepositions or composed words.

Having given, we trust, full credit to the acumen of Grotefend and the profound learning and skill of Lassen, we may now devote the remainder of our space to an account of the labours of our own countryman. Rawlinson, of whom every Englishman may well be proud. We shall do this chiefly in his own words, as contained in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In a memoir prepared in 1839, but not then published, the Major thus wrote respecting the labours of his predecessors.

“It would be interesting, perhaps, to the lovers of Oriental literature, if I could open the present memoir with a detailed account of the progress of cuneiform discovery, from the time when Professor Grotefend first deciphered the names of Cyrus, Xerxes, and Darius, to the highly improved condition which the inquiry now exhibits; but my long absence from Europe, where the researches of Orientalists have been thus gradually perfecting the system of interpretation, while it has prevented me from applying to my own labours the

current improvements of the day, has also rendered me quite incompetent to discriminate the dates and forms under which these improvements have been given to the world. The table, however, in which I have arranged the different alphabetical systems adopted both by continental students and by myself, will give a general view of their relative conditions of accuracy, and, supposing the correctness of my own alphabet to be verified by the test of my translations, it will also shew that the progress of discovery has kept pace pretty uniformly with the progress of inquiry.

“Professor Grotefend has certainly the credit of being the first who opened a gallery into this rich treasure-house of antiquity. In deciphering the names of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and Hystaspes, he obtained the true determination of nearly a third of the entire alphabet, and thus at once supplied a sure and ample basis for further research. M. Saint Martin, who resumed the inquiry on its being abandoned by the German professor, improved but little on the labours of his predecessor; but shortly afterwards, Professor Rask discovered the two characters representing M and N, which led to several most important verifications.

“The memoir of M. Burnouf on the two cuneiform inscriptions of Hamadán, published in 1836, added several discoveries of interest; and the recent researches of Professor Lassen supplying an identification of at least twelve characters, which had been mistaken by all his predecessors, may entitle him almost to contest with Professor Grotefend the palm of alphabetical discovery.

“In a very few cases only, which may be seen on a reference to the comparative table, have I indeed found occasion to differ with him as to the phonetic power of the characters, and in some of the cases even, owing to the limited field of inquiry, I have little more than conjecture to guide me.

“But in thus tracing the outlines of the discovery as far as they are at present known to me, and in thus disclaiming any pretension to originality as far as regards the alphabet which I have finally decided on adopting, I think it due to myself to state briefly and distinctly how far I am indebted for my knowledge of the cuneiform character and of the language of the inscriptions to the labours of continental students which have preceded the present publication. It was in the year 1835 that I first undertook the investigation of the cuneiform character; I was at that time only aware that Professor Grotefend had deciphered some of the names of the early sovereigns of the house of Achæmenes; but in my isolated position at Kermanshab, on the western frontier of Persia, I could neither obtain a copy of his alphabet, nor could I discover what particular inscriptions he had ex-

amined. The first materials which I submitted to analysis were the sculptured tablets of Hamadán, carefully and accurately copied by myself upon the spot; and I afterwards found that I had thus, by a singular accident, selected the most favourable inscriptions of the class which existed in all Persia for resolving the difficulties of an unknown character.

“These tablets consist of two trilingual inscriptions, engraved by Darius Hystaspes and his son Xerxes: they commence with the same invocation to Ormazd (with the exception of a single epithet omitted in the tablet of Darius); they contain the same enumeration of the royal titles, and the same statement of paternity and family; and, in fact, they are identical, except in the names of the kings and in those of their respective fathers. When I proceeded, therefore, to compare and interline the two inscriptions (or rather, the Persian columns of the two inscriptions; for as the compartments exhibiting the inscription in the Persian language occupied the principal place in the tablets, and were engraved in the least complicated of the three classes of cuneiform writing, they were naturally first submitted to examination), I found that the characters coincided throughout, except in certain particular groups, and it was only reasonable to suppose that the groups which were thus brought out and individualised must represent proper names. I further remarked, that there were but three of these distinct groups in the two inscriptions; for the group which occupied the second place in one inscription, and which, from its position, suggested the idea of its representing the name of the father of the king who was there commemorated, corresponded with the group which occupied the first place in the other inscription, and thus not only served determinately to connect the two inscriptions together, but, assuming the groups to represent proper names, appeared also to indicate a genealogical succession. The natural inference was, that in these three groups of characters I had obtained the proper names belonging to three consecutive generations of the Persian monarchy; and it so happened that the first three names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, which I applied at hazard to the three groups, according to the succession, proved to answer in all respects satisfactorily, and were, in fact, the true identifications.”

The Major is not able, after the lapse of so many years, to describe the means by which he ascertained the power of each particular letter, or to discriminate the respective dates of the discoveries; but he has no doubt that in 18 he could have explained the manner in which he had identified these eighteen characters before he met with the alphabets of Grotfend and Saint Martin.

He continues: "It would be fatiguing to detail the gradual progress which I made in the inquiry during the ensuing year. The collation of the two first paragraphs of the great Behistun inscription with the tablets of Elwend supplied me, in addition to the names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, with the native forms of Arsames, Ariaramnes, Teispes, Achæmenes, and Persia, and with a few old words, regarding which, however, I was not very confident; and thus enabled me to construct an alphabet which assigned the same determinate values to eighteen characters that I still retain after three years of further investigation.

"During a residence at Teherán in the autumn of 1836, I had first an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the labours of Grotefend and Saint Martin. In Heeren's *Ideen*, and in Klaproth's *Aperçu de l'Origine des diverses Ecritures*, I found the cuneiform alphabets and translations which had been adopted in Germany and France; but far from deriving any assistance from either of these sources, I could not doubt that my own knowledge of the character, verified by its application to many names which had not come under the observations of Grotefend and Saint Martin, was much in advance of their respective, and in some measure conflicting, systems of interpretation. As there were many letters, however, regarding which I was still in doubt, and as I had made very little progress in the language of the inscriptions, I deferred the announcement of my discoveries until I was in a better condition to turn them to account.

"In the year 1837 I copied all the other paragraphs of the great Behistun inscription that form the subject of the present memoir; and during the winter of that year, whilst I was still under the impression that cuneiform discovery in Europe was in the same imperfect state in which it had been left at the period of Saint Martin's decease, I forwarded to the Royal Asiatic Society my translation of the two first paragraphs of the Behistun inscription, which recorded the titles and genealogy of Darius Hystaspes. It is important to observe that these paragraphs would have been wholly inexplicable according to the systems of interpretation adopted either by Grotefend or Saint Martin; and yet the original French and German alphabets were the only extraneous sources of information which, up to that period, I had been enabled to consult. It was not, indeed, until the receipt of the letters which had been sent to me from London and Paris, in answer to my communication to the Royal Asiatic Society, that I was made acquainted even with the fact of the inquiry having been resumed by the Orientalists of Europe; and a still further period elapsed before I learnt

details of the progress that had been made upon the Continent in deciphering the inscriptions simultaneously with my own researches in Persia. The memoir of M. Burnouf on the inscriptions of Hamadán, which was forwarded to me by the learned author, and which reached me at Teherán in the summer of 1838, shewed me that I had been anticipated in the announcement of many of the improvements that I had made on the system of M. Saint Martin; but I still found several essential points of difference between the Paris alphabet and that which I had formed from the writing at Behistun, and my observations on a few of these points of difference I at once submitted to M. Burnouf, through the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of London. The materials with which I had hitherto worked were far from being complete. The inscriptions which I had copied at Hamadán and Behistun supplied my only means of alphabetical analysis; and the researches of Anquetil du Perron, together with a few Zend mss. obtained in Persia, and interpreted for me by an ignorant priest of Yezd, were my only guides in acquiring a knowledge of the ancient language of the country. In the autumn, however, of 1838 I was in a condition to prosecute the inquiry on a far more extended and satisfactory scale. The admirable commentary on the Yaçna by M. Burnouf, was transmitted to me by Dr. Mohl, of Paris, and I there for the first time found the language of the Zend Avesta critically analysed, and its orthographical and grammatical structure clearly and scientifically developed. To this work I owe in a great measure the success of my translations; for although I conjecture the Zend to be a later language than that of the inscriptions, upon the debris of which, indeed, it was probably refined and systematised, yet I believe it to approach nearer to the Persian of the ante-Alexandrian ages than any other dialect of the family, except the Vedic Sanscrit, that is available to modern research. At the same time, also, that I acquired through the luminous critique of M. Burnouf an insight into the peculiarities of Zend expression, and by this means obtained a general knowledge of the grammatical structure of the language of the inscriptions, I had the good fortune to procure copies of the Persepolitan tablets which had been published by Niebuhr, Le Brun, and Porter, and which had hitherto formed the chief basis of continental study. The enumeration of the provinces tributary to Darius Hystaspes I found to be in greater detail, and in a far better state of preservation, in the Persepolitan inscription, than in the corresponding list which I had obtained at Behistun; and with this important help, I was soon afterwards able to complete the alphabet which I have employed in the present translations.

“On my arrival at Baghdad during the present year I deferred

the completion of my translations, and of the memoir by which I designed to establish and explain them, until I obtained books from England which might enable me to study with more care the peculiarities of Sanscrit grammar; and in the mean time I busied myself with comparative geography. It was at this period that I received through the Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society a letter from Professor Lassen, containing a *précis* of his last improved system of interpretation; and the Bonn alphabet I recognised at once to be infinitely superior to any other that had previously fallen under my observation. The Professor's views, indeed, coincided in all essential points with my own, and since I have been enabled, with the help of Sanscrit and Zend affinities, to analyse nearly every word of the cuneiform inscriptions hitherto copied in Persia, and thus to verify the alphabetical power of almost every cuneiform character, I have found the more reason to admire the skill of Professor Lassen, who, with such very limited materials as were alone at his disposal in Europe, has still arrived at results so remarkably correct. The close approximation of my own alphabet to that adopted by Professor Lassen will be apparent on a reference to the comparative table; and although, in point of fact, the Professor's labours have been of no farther assistance to me than in adding one new character to my alphabet, and in confirming opinions which were sometimes conjectural, and which generally required verification, yet as the improvements which his system of interpretation makes upon the alphabet employed by M. Burnouf appear to have preceded not only the announcement, but the adoption of my own views, I cannot pretend to contest with him the priority of alphabetical discovery. Whilst employed in writing the present memoir, I have had further opportunities of examining the Persepolitan inscriptions of Mr. Rich, and the Persian inscription of Xerxes, which is found at Ván; and I have also, in the pages of the *Journal Asiatique*, been introduced to a better knowledge of the Pehlevi, by Dr. Müller, and I have obtained some acquaintance with Professor Lassen's translations, from the perusal of one of the critical notices of M. Jacquet."

Respecting cuneiform writing in general, Major Rawlinson observes, that the Babylonian is unquestionably the most ancient of the great classes of cuneiform writing. It is well-known that legends in this character are stamped upon the bricks which are excavated from the foundations of all the buildings in Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Chaldæa, that possess the highest and most authentic claims to antiquity; and it is hardly extravagant, therefore, to assign its invention to the primitive race which settled in the plains of Shinar. It embraces, however, so many varieties, and it is spread

over such a vast extent of country, that Orientalists have been long divided in opinion as to whether its multitudinous branches can be considered as belonging to one type of alphabet and language. Those who have studied the subject with most care have arrived at the conviction that all the inscriptions in the complicated cuneiform character, which are severally found upon rocks, upon bricks, upon slabs, and upon cylinders, from the Persian mountains to the shores of the Mediterranean, do in reality belong to one single alphabetical system; and they further believe the variations which are perceptible in the different modes of writing to be analogous, in a general measure, to the varieties of hand and text which characterise the graphic and glyphic arts of the present day. Major Rawlinson, however, can hardly subscribe in all its amplitude to this general and complete amalgamation. He perceives modifications of a constant and peculiar character, which perhaps are hardly sufficient to establish a distinction of phonetic organisation between the Babylonian and Assyrian writing, but which may be held, nevertheless, to constitute varieties of alphabetical formation; and the inscriptions of Elymais, also, from their manifest dissimilarity to either one system or the other, are entitled, he considers, to an independent rank. He then proceeds to exhibit a classification of the complicated cuneiform writing, according to the opinions which he has formed from an extensive examination of the inscriptions; premising, at the same time, that he sees no sufficient grounds at present to prevent us from attaching all the languages which the various alphabets are employed to represent, to that one great family, which it is the custom (improperly enough) to designate as the Semitic; and that he leaves untouched the great and essential question, whether the difference of character indicate a difference of orthographical structure, or whether the varieties of formation are merely analogous to the diversity which exists between the Estranghelo and the Nestorian alphabet, the printed and the cursive Hebrew, or the Cufic and the modern Arabic.

The complicated cuneiform character, then, may, he thinks, be divided into three distinct groups,—Babylonian, Assyrian, and Elymæan; and the two former of these groups will again admit of subdivision into minor branches. Of the Babylonian, there are only two marked varieties; the character of the cylinders may be considered as the type of the one; that of the third column of the trilingual inscriptions of Persia of the other. The former is probably the primitive cuneiform alphabet. It is also of extensive application; it is found upon the bricks which compose the foundations of the primæval cities of Shinar, at Babylon, at Erech, at Accad, and at Calneh; and, if the Birs-i-Nimroud be admitted to represent the tower of Babel, an

indentification which is supported, not merely by the character of the monument, but by the universal belief of the early Talmudists, it must, in the substructure of that edifice, embody the vernacular dialect of Shinar at the period when “the earth was of one language and of one speech.” But it was not confined, as has been sometimes supposed, to cylinders and bricks. It has the same title as that of the trilingual inscriptions to be considered a lapidary character; for we have specimens of it on Sir Harford Jones’ great slab, published by the Honourable the East India Company in 1803, as well as upon numerous stones and hard-baked pieces of clay that have been disinterred at Babylon at different periods. Nor was its employment, or at any rate its intelligence, restricted to that immediate vicinity; Rawlinson copied, in the year 1836, a very perfect inscription of thirty-three lines in this character, from a broken obelisk on the mound of Susa; and a black stone, which is engraved with 104 short lines of the same writing, and which is now in the possession of the Earl of Aberdeen, was excavated not long ago from the ruins of Nineveh.

The second form of this alphabet is the best known, as it is also unquestionably the least ancient, branch of the Babylonian writing. It is employed with little or no variation of type to represent the transcript in the third column of all the trilingual tablets of Persia, and it may, perhaps, therefore, be not inappropriately termed the Achæmenian-Babylonian. By what means it became simplified from the primitive writing, or by how many centuries its adoption preceded the rise of the Achæmenean dynasty, we have no data at present for determining; but that it was in use until a late period of the Persian empire, is proved by the inscription on a vase in the treasury of St. Mark’s at Venice, which records the name and titles of Artaxerxes (Ochus) in hieroglyphics and in the trilingual characters of the Achæmenians. It is curious to remark that although at Persepolis, at Hamadán, at Ván, and at Behistun, this writing exhibits no sensible variety, it may be doubted if a genuine Babylonian monument has been ever met with, of which the character is precisely identical. The inscriptions published by Rich are certainly a near approximation, and Grotefend observes that the writing upon the stone described by Mr. Millin partly resembles the same type; but Rawlinson repeats that he is not aware of any legend discovered at Babylon that may lay claim to an absolute identity; and this is the more to be regretted, as we are indebted to the trilingual inscriptions of Persia for our only key to the decipherment of the Babylonian alphabet, and any variation, accordingly, from the former type seriously impedes the extension of the inquiry.

Respecting the Assyrian character, Rawlinson says: "M. Botta, who has exhumed, under the liberal patronage of the French Government, the multitudinous inscriptions of Khorsabad, and who will shortly, it is hoped, confer a more important benefit upon science by rendering their contents intelligible, regards the Assyrian writing, wherever it may exist, as of one common and universal type. I do not pretend at present to contest this view, as far as it may concern either the language or its alphabetical structure; but in respect to the configuration of the character, it requires, I think, to be somewhat modified. If the permutations of letters occurring in certain words (particularly names) at Ván and at Khorsabad, were regular and constant, or if the frequent repetition of those words, either at one place or the other, by a different employment of signs connected the two systems of orthography together, and explained the process of amplifying, abridging, or modifying the respective characters at will, then, by an extensive assortment of variants, the alphabets, perhaps, might be brought to coalesce; but such I cannot find to be the case. On the contrary, I perceive characters at Ván which never occur at Khorsabad, and *vice versâ*; and without impugning therefore, in any way the possible identity of language, or the probable identity of its phonetic organisation, as I have distinguished between the Babylonian writing of the primitive and Achæmenian periods, so do I also recognise a difference between the Medo-Assyrian and the Assyrian alphabets. By the Medo-Assyrian alphabet I indicate that which (with the exception of the trilingual inscription of Xerxes) is exclusively found on the rocks at Ván and its neighbourhood, which occurs at Dásh-Tappeh, in the plain of Miyándáb, and on the stone pillar at the pass of Kel-i-Shín, and which, as far as I can judge from an imperfect specimen of the writing, is also the character employed in a rock inscription on the banks of the Euphrates, between the towns of Malatíeh and Kharpút. The Assyrian alphabet, on the other hand, appears to be peculiar to the plains of Assyria. In this character are engraved the entire series of the marbles of Khorsabad. Broken slabs bearing the same writing have been excavated from the ruins of Nineveh, and I was also lately favoured with the fragment of an inscription from Nimroud (perhaps the Rehoboth of Scripture), which is unquestionably of the Assyrian type. The bricks, moreover, which I have seen from Khorsabad, Nineveh, and Nimroud, are, as might be expected, impressed with legends in the Assyrian character, and exhibit, in this respect, a very remarkable difference from the relics of the same class in Babylonia. Unfortunately I have never been able to obtain bricks stamped with the cuneiform character from either of the sites, which I suppose to represent the sister capitals of

Resen and Calah. Such relics, however, I have every reason to believe, are found both at Shahrizor and at Holwán, and if, when submitted to examination, the writing should prove to be of the Nineveh type, we then may claim for the Assyrian character an antiquity of invention and an extensiveness of employment almost equal to that of the primitive Babylonian.

“I have already mentioned the disinterment of a stone from the ruins of Nineveh, which exhibits a very long and perfect inscription in the character of the Babylonian cylinders. The discovery of this relic, however, *in situ*, does not, as it appears to me, necessarily confound the limits of Assyrian and Babylonian writing. It was probably of foreign manufacture, and may have been preserved by some inhabitants of Nineveh, as an amulet or sacred curiosity. Under any circumstances, it can only be regarded as a specimen *sui generis*; for the usual writing which is found upon cylindrical pieces of hard baked clay excavated from Nineveh is quite distinct from any variety of character which occurs on similar relics at Babylon. The Assyrian running-hand, as it may be called, is extremely minute and confused, and the letters, by their sloping position, are made so thoroughly to intermingle, that it is almost impossible to discriminate their respective forms. Mr. Rich (*Babylon and Persepolis*. Plate 9, No. 5) has published a fragment of writing which appears to me to be in this difficult character; numerous specimens of it are to be found in the museums of Europe, but by far the most interesting and perfect relic of the class that has been ever hitherto discovered, is a hexagonal cylinder of clay, in the possession of Colonel Taylor, which exhibits on each side between seventy and eighty lines of writing, in excellent preservation, but so elaborately minute as, I fear, to defy all attempts at analysis. I have, indeed, a paper impression of this curious record, in which the relief of the characters is more clearly marked than on the original cylinder, and yet, although I have repeatedly examined it with the aid of a magnifier, I hesitate to say whether it most resembles the writing of Khorsabad or Ván.

“Before I quit the subject of the Assyrian inscriptions, I must also notice the tablets at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kalb, in the vicinity of Beyrout. I remember to have seen in Persia many years ago a lithographed sketch of the entire sculptures, executed by M. Bonomi; but, as far as my recollection serves me, there was no attempt in that sketch to delineate the forms of the characters. At present, I can only consult a drawing of the principal figure, made by an Armenian gentleman, together with a few detached specimens of characters; and I find from the materials that, although the style of sculpture at the

Nahr-el-Kalb resembles in every particular the figures at Khorsabad, the letters appear to be of the Medo-Assyrian type; a circumstance which, if it should be verified by more elaborate examination, will have the important effect of determinately connecting the monuments of Ván and Khorsabad. At any rate, in a locality accessible at all times to European curiosity, a question of so much interest to historical research ought not to remain long in doubt.

“It will thus be seen, that the classification which I have adopted of the complicated cuneiform writing embraces the following divisions:—

- { Primitive Babylonian,
- { Achæmenian Babylonian;
- { Medo-Assyrian,
- { Assyrian;
- Elymæan.

“It is not my intention in this place to discuss the affinities of the respective alphabets. They all possess a great number of signs in common, but there are also certain characters peculiar to each system, which, as they are constant in their respective localities, can hardly be explained by the caprice or extravagance of the artist. M. Botta has observed, that a person who can read the Khorsabad inscriptions can read every other species of the complicated character; and I consider his opinions entitled to the utmost respect; but the principle will certainly not hold good in an inverse application, for my own acquaintance with the Achæmenian Babylonian is of some extent, and yet I have not hitherto succeeded in identifying a single name in the tablets of Ván or Khorsabad.

“I will now add a few remarks on the attempts which have hitherto been made to decipher this interesting character. Germany took the lead in the inquiry. In the *Mémoires de l'Orient*, vols. IV., V., and VI. (1814-1816), there are several elaborate papers on the subject; and I learn from Professor Grotefend's Essay on the cuneiform character, forming Appendix No. 2 to the second volume of Heeren's *Researches* (published in 1815), that his own labours were either subsequent to, or contemporary with, those of a host of other archæologists. The names of Tychsen, Münter, Kopp, De Murr, Hager, Millin, and Wahl are particularly conspicuous among the early inquirers; but I do not perceive that any real advantage resulted from their labours beyond the preliminary, but most necessary, process of classifying the characters. This classification, I understand, has been carried to a much greater extent of late years in England by Mr. Cullimore, and it is probable that Signior Mussabini's work, which I see announced for publication, may contain

some attempt at phonetic expression. The laborious task, however, on which M. Botta has been engaged during his excavation of the Nineveh marbles promises to be of greater importance to the interpretation of the inscriptions than all preceding efforts. Having an inexhaustible field of comparison, he has been employed in constructing a complete table of variants, the frequent repetition of the same words with orthographical variations of more or less extent, furnishing him with a key to the equivalent signs; and by these means he has succeeded, as he informs me, in reducing the Assyrian alphabet to some manageable compass. My own labours have been restricted to the Achæmenian-Babylonian, as I have found it at Persepolis, Hamadán, and Behistun, and I have attempted nothing further at present than the determination of the phonetic powers of the characters. I have obtained a tolerably extensive alphabet from the orthography of the following names: Achæmenes, Cyrus, Smerdis, Hystaspes, Darius, Artystone, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Gomates, Magus, Atrines, Naditabirus, Nabochodrossor, Nabonidus, Phraortes, Xathrites, Cyaxares, Martius, Omanes, Sitratachmes, Veisdates, Aracus, Phraates, Persis, Susiana, Margiana, and Oromasdes; but I have left the grammar and construction of the language hitherto untouched.

“ * * * It is natural to infer, from the peculiar form of cuneiform writing, that in all ages and in all countries it must have been confined exclusively to sculptures and impressions. In Babylonia and Assyria there was certainly a cursive character employed in a very high antiquity, synchronously with the lapidary cuneiform. We meet with it occasionally on bricks and cylinders; and if these relics were insufficient to prove its authenticity, we might refer to the squared Hebrew which the Jews are believed to have adopted in Babylonia, and to have first substituted for the old Samaritan when they returned from the captivity with a language sensibly affected by their long residence on the Tigris and Euphrates. It is probably, however, the cuneiform character of Assyrian type, to which Herodotus and Diodorus allude under the titles of Syrian and Assyrian writing; and the tablets of Acicarus, regarding which Clemens of Alexandria has preserved so curious a notice, were inscribed, I should imagine, with the same letters, but of the Achæmenian-Babylonian class. The latest monument upon which the ancient character is preserved is probably the inscription of Turki, north of the Caucasus, a relic that M. Burnouf has, with some plausibility, assigned to the period of Arsacide dominion. In Babylonia proper its employment could hardly have survived the era of Alexander the Great, and as it appears never to have been used in Persia,

except in connexion with a foreign language, and for the purpose of ministering to the pride of the Achaemenian monarchs, who claimed to have inherited the science as well as the wealth and glory of Babylon, it ceased, no doubt, to be understood to the eastward of the mountains after the extinction of that dynasty. Grecian civilisation then, as it is well known, replaced for a while Semitic influence in the interior of Persia; and when the Macedonians retired, they were succeeded by that tide of immigration from the eastward which for many centuries imposed a Scythic character on the usages, the religion, and perhaps, also, in some degree, on the language of the Parthian nation."

The great feats of interpretation which such a man as Rawlinson has accomplished should not be suffered to blind us to the fact that our materials for Assyrian history even now, after a partial elucidation of such inscriptions as have been found, are extremely limited and fragmentary; and in their present state convey little that is positive in its results, at least so far as a chronological narrative is concerned. The system of Assyrian writing is still extremely obscure, and the language which it records is only partially intelligible through the imperfect key of the Behistun inscriptions. Again, it should not be forgotten, though valuable as are the annals we possess of individual kings, and important as they may one day become as elements of a complete series, they go but a very little way towards filling up the gap of sixteen hundred years, which must have intervened between the age of Nimroud and the destruction of Nineveh by Cyaxeres. All that we can expect at present is, that the internal evidence of the inscriptions may supply us with internal evidence respecting the relative position of the different royal families, and the probable interval which elapsed between them. Future discoveries of sculptures, and a further development of the alphabet are to be expected from the zeal of those inquirers now in the field, and to these we must look for the more complete elucidation of the history of Assyria.

Pending this development, the date of the chief sculptures can only be conjectively assigned; Major Rawlinson thinks that the Nimroud marbles now in the British Museum are of a very high antiquity, and far more ancient than the period of the dynasties mentioned in scripture or in Herodotus. By a curious induction too intricate to be explained here, the Major has arrived at the conclusion that the era of the building of the north-west palace at Nimroud, which was doubtless during the most flourishing time of the Assyrian empire, must have followed closely upon the extinction of the nineteenth dynasty in Egypt, a period which corresponds with the Argive colouration of Greece, and the settlement of the Israelites in Palestine. As the

north-west palace appears beyond all doubt to have been the oldest building in Nimroud, so too the inscriptions are the earliest records in the cuneiform character which have been brought to light. These Major Rawlinson attributes to a king whose name he reads as Assar-adan-pal, and who he thinks may be identified with the warlike Sardanapalus of Callisthenes.

But although this Sardanapalus is the first king of Assyria, whose annals have been brought to light, he was neither the first king, the first founder of the city, nor the first great builder in Assyria. In all his inscriptions, Sardanapalus names both his father and grandfather, to each of whom he gives the title of king of Assyria, and when commemorating the building of the palace of Nimroud, he says that the city was founded by Temen-bar. How many kings reigned in the interval between the two, it is impossible to say at present. The name of the king who succeeded Temen-bar is read Hernenk or Henenk, a word which resembles the Evechius of the Greek chronologers, which they say is the true Chaldean designation of Nimroud. The name of the next king is represented by a group of characters, which Rawlinson takes to mean "servant of Bar," but to which he cannot give any syllabic form.

We now come to the Assar-adan-pal, or Sardanapalus, author of the inscriptions in the north-west palace at Nimroud. The formula with which all these begin is, "This is the palace of Sardanapalus, the humble worshipper of Assarac and Beltis, &c." After this introduction, the inscription goes on to notice the exertions of the king to establish the Assyrian worship, and then follows, although the connexion is not very obvious, what is taken for a long list of geographical names of the nations then tributary to Nineveh. Could these names be identified with certainty, we might be able to determine the extent of the Assyrian empire when they were engraved.

Thus has Major Rawlinson been sedulously engaged in applying his discoveries to the inscriptions in the old north-west palace at Nimroud. He has read on the black obelisk, from the centre of that mound, a record of the wars and history of thirty-one years of the seventh century before the Christian era; and it is not too much to expect, from his talents and power of application, that, should his life be spared, a most interesting chapter of the world's history may yet be restored. His translation of this inscription is as follows:

Major Rawlinson, after stating that the inscription on the obelisk commences with an invocation to the gods of Assyria to protect the empire, goes on to say: I cannot follow the sense of the whole invocation, which takes up fourteen lines of writing, as well from the obscurity of the titles appertaining to the gods, as from the lacunæ in the

text, owing to the fracture of the corner edge of the gradines ; but I perceive, I think, the following passages :—“ The God Assarac, the great lord, king of all the great gods ; Ani, the king ; Nit, the powerful, and Artenk, the supreme god of the provinces ; Beltis, the protector, mother of the gods.” A few lines further on we have “ Shemir (perhaps the Greek Semiramis), who presides over the heavens and the earth” (another god whose name is lost). “ Bar,” with an unknown epithet ; then “. . . . Artenk, Lama, and Horus ;” and after the interval of another line, “. . . Tal, and Set, the attendants of Beltis, mother of the gods.” The favour of all these deities, with Assarac at their head, the supreme god of heaven, is invoked for the protection of Assyria. Temen-bar then goes on to give his titles and genealogy ; he calls himself king of the nations who worship Husi (another name for the god Shemir) and Assarac ; king of Mesopotamia (using a term which was afterwards particularly applied to the Euphrates) ; son of Sardanapalus, the servant of Husi, the protector, who first introduced the worship of the gods among the many peopled nations (the exact terms being here used, which answer to the “ *dah-yáwa paruwa-zana*” of Persepolis). Sardanapalus, too, is called the son of Katibar (or “ the servant of Bar”), who was king of Zahiri, which seems to have been one of the many names of Assyria.

Temen-bar then says :

“ At the commencement of my reign, after that I was established on the throne, I assembled the chiefs of my people and came down into the plains of Esmes, where I took the city of Haridu, the chief city belonging to Nakharni.

“ In the first year of my reign, I crossed the Upper Euphrates, and ascended to the tribes who worshipped the god Husi. My servants erected altars (or tablets) in that land to my gods. Then I went on to the land of Khamána, where I founded palaces, cities, and temples. I went on to the land of Málar, and there I established the worship (or laws) of my kingdom.

“ In the second year, I went up to the city of Tel Barasba, and occupied the cities of Ahuni, son of Hateni. I shut him up in his city. I then crossed the Euphrates, and occupied the cities of Dabagu and Abarta, belonging to the Sheta, together with the cities which were dependent on them.

“ In the third year, Ahuni, son of Hateni, rebelled against me, and having become independent, established his seat of government in the city of Tel Barasba. The country beyond the Euphrates he placed under the protection of the god Assarac, the Excellent, while he committed to the god Rimmon the country between the Eu-

phrates and the Arteri, with its city of Bither, which was held by the Sheta. Then I descended into the plains of Elets. The countries of Elets, Shakni, Dayini, Enem (?), Arzaskán, the capital city of Arama, king of Ararat, Lazan, and Hubiska, I committed to the charge of Detarasar. Then I went out from the city of Nineveh, and crossing the Euphrates, I attacked and defeated Ahuni, the son of Hateni, in the city of Sitrat, which was situated upon the Euphrates, and which Ahuni had made one of his capitals. The rest of the country I brought under subjection; and Ahuni, the son of Hateni, with his gods and his chief priests, his horses, his sons and his daughters, and all his men of war, I brought away to my country of Assyria. Afterwards I passed through the country of Shelár (or Kelár), and came to the district of Zoba. I reached the cities belonging to Nikti, and took the city of Yedi, where Nikti dwelt. [A good deal of this part of the inscription I have been obliged to translate almost conjecturally, for on the obelisk the confusion is quite bewildering; the engraver having, as I think, omitted a line of the text which he was copying, and the events of the third and fourth year being thus mingled together; while in the bull inscription, where the date is preserved, shewing that the final action with Ahuni took place in the fourth, and not in the third year, the text is too much mutilated to admit of our obtaining any connected sense. I pass on accordingly to the fifth year.]

“In the fifth year, I went up to the country of Abyari; I took eleven great cities; I besieged Akitta of Erri in his city, and received his tribute.

“In the sixth year, I went out from the city of Nineveh, and proceeded to the country situated on the river Belek. The ruler of the country having resisted my authority, I displaced him, and appointed Tsimba to be lord of the district; and I there established the Assyrian sway. I went out from the land on the river Belek, and came to the cities of Tel-Aták (?) and Habaremya. Then I crossed the Upper Euphrates, and received tribute from the kings of the Sheta. Afterwards I went out from the land of the Sheta and came to the city of Umen (?). In the city of Umen (?) I raised altars to the great gods. From the city of Umen I went out and came to the city of Barbara. Then Hem-ithra of the country of Atesh, and Arhulena of Hamath, and the kings of the Sheta, and the tribes which were in alliance with them, arose; setting their forces in battle array, they came against me. By the grace of Assarac, the great and powerful god, I fought with them and defeated them; 20,500 of their men I slew in battle or carried into slavery. Their leaders, their captains, and their men of war, I put in chains.

"In the seventh year, I proceeded to the country belonging to Khabni of Tel-ati. The city of Tel-ati, which was his chief place, and the towns which were dependent on it, I captured, and gave up to pillage. I went out from the city of Tel-ati, and came to the land watered by the head-streams which form the Tigris. The priests of Assarac in that land raised altars to the immortal gods. I appointed priests to reside in the land to pay adoration to Assarac, the great and powerful god, and to preside over the national worship. The cities of this region which did not acknowledge the god Assarac I brought under subjection, and I here received the tribute of the country of Nahiri.

"In the eighth year, against Sut-Baba, king of Taha-Dunis, appeared Sut-Bel-herat and his followers. The latter led his forces against Sut-Baba, and took from him the cities of the land of Beth Takara.

"In the ninth year, a second time I went up to Armenia and took the city of Lunanta. By the assistance of Assarac and Sut, I obtained possession of the person of Sut-Bel-herat. In the city of Umen I put him in chains. Afterwards Sut-Bel-herat, together with his chief followers, I condemned to slavery. Then I went down to Shinar, and in the cities of Shinar, of Borsippa, and of Ketika, I erected altars and founded temples to the great gods. Then I went down to the land of the Chaldees, and I occupied their cities, and I marched on as far even as the tribes who dwelt upon the sea-coast. Afterwards in the city of Shinar, I received the tribute of the kings of the Chaldees, Hateni, the son of Dákri, and Baga-Sut, the son of Hukni, gold, silver, gems, and pearls.

"In the tenth year, for the eighth time I crossed the Euphrates. I took the cities belonging to Ara-lura of the town of Shalumas, and gave them up to pillage. Then I went out from the cities of Shalumas, and I proceeded to the country belonging to Arama, (who was king of Ararat). I took the city of Arnia, which was the capital of the country, and I gave up to pillage one hundred of the dependent towns. I slew the wicked, and I carried off the treasures.

"At this time, Hem-ithra, king of Atesh, and Arhulena, king of Hamath, and the twelve kings of the tribes who were in alliance with them, came forth arraying their forces against me. They met me, and we fought a battle, in which I defeated them, making prisoners of their leaders, and their captains, and their men of war, and putting them in chains.

"In the eleventh year, I went out from the city of Nineveh, and for the ninth time crossed the Euphrates. I took the eighty-seven cities belonging to Ara-lura, and one hundred cities belonging to

Arama, and I gave them up to pillage. I settled the country of Khamána, and passing by the country of Yeri, I went down to the cities of Hamath, and took the city of Esdimak, and eighty-nine of the dependent towns, slaying the wicked ones, and carrying off the treasures. Again, Hem-ithra, king of Atesh, Arhulena, king of Hamath, and the twelve kings of the tribes (or in one copy, the twelve kings of the Sheta) who were in alliance with them, came forth levying war upon me; they arrayed their forces against me. I fought with them and defeated them, slaying 10,000 of their men, and carrying into slavery their captains, and leaders, and men of war. Afterwards I went up to the city of Habbartil, one of the chief cities belonging to Arama (of Ararat), and there I received the tribute of Berbaranda, the king of Shetina, gold, silver, horses, sheep, and oxen, &c. &c. I then went up to the country of Khamána, where I founded palaces and cities.

“In the twelfth year, I marched forth from Nineveh, and for the tenth time I crossed the Euphrates, and went up to the city of Sevarrahuben. I slew the wicked, and carried off the treasures from thence to my own country.

“In the thirteenth year, I descended to the plains dependent on the city of Assar-animet. I went to the district of Yáta. I took the forts of the country of Yáta, slaying the evil-disposed, and carrying off all the wealth of the country.

“In the fourteenth year, I raised the country, and assembled a great army; with 120,000 warriors I crossed the Euphrates. Then it came to pass that Hem-ithra, king of Atesh, and Arhulena, king of Hamath, and the twelve kings of the tribes of the upper and lower country, collected their forces together, and came before me offering battle. I engaged with them, and defeated them; their leaders, and captains, and men of war I cast into chains.

“In the fifteenth year I went to the country of Nahiri, and established my authority throughout the country about the head-streams which form the Tigris. In the district of Akhábi I celebrated (some great religious ceremony, probably, which is obscurely described, and which I am quite unable to render).

“Afterwards I descended to the plains of Lanbuna, and devastated the cities of Arama, king of Ararat, and all the country about the head waters of the Euphrates; and I abode in the country about the rivers which form the Euphrates, and there I set up altars to the supreme gods, and left priests in the land to superintend the worship. Hasú, king of Dayini, there paid me his homage, and brought in his tribute of horses, and I established the authority of my empire throughout the land dependent on his city.

"In the sixteenth year, I crossed the river Zab, and went against the country of the Arians. Sut-Mesitek, the king of the Arians, I put in chains, and I brought his wives, and his warriors, and his gods, captives to my country of Assyria; and I appointed Yanvu, the son of Khanab, to be king over the country in his place.

"In the seventeenth year, I crossed the Euphrates, and went up to the country of Khamána, where I founded palaces and cities.

"In the eighteenth year, for the sixteenth time I crossed the Euphrates. Khazakan of Atesh came forth to fight; 1121 of his captains, and 460 of his superior chiefs, with the troops they commanded, I defeated in this war.¹

"In the nineteenth year, for the eighteenth time I crossed the Euphrates. I went up again to Khamána, and founded more palaces and temples.

"In the twentieth year, for the nineteenth time I crossed the Euphrates. I went up to the country of Beráhui. I took the cities, and despoiled them of their treasures.

"In the twenty-first year, for the twentieth time I crossed the Euphrates, and again went up to the country of Khazakan of Atesh. I occupied his territory, and while there received the tribute from the countries of Tyre, of Sidon, and of Gubal.

"In the twenty-second year, for the twenty-first time I crossed the Euphrates, and marched to the country of Tubal. Then I received the submission of the twenty-four kings of Tubal, and I went on to the country of Atta, to the gold country, to Belui, and to Ta-Esferem.

¹ It was to commemorate this campaign that the colossal bulls found in the centre of the mound at Nimroud were set up. The inscription upon them recording the wars is, of course, far more detailed than the brief summary on the obelisk, and I may as well, therefore, give my reading of it.

It commences with a geographical catalogue. "The upper and lower countries of Nihiri, the extensive land which worshipped the god Husi, Khamána and the Sheta, the countries along the course of the Tigris, and the countries watered by the Euphrates, from Belats to Shakni, from Shakni to Meluda, from Meluda to Dayáni, from Dayáni to Arzeskán, from Arzeskán to Latsán, from Latsán to Hlubiska; the Arians and the tribes of the Chaldees who dwell upon the sea-coast.

"In the eighteenth year, for the sixteenth time I crossed the Euphrates. Then Khazakan of Atesh collected his warriors and came forth; these warriors he committed to a man of Aranersa, who had administered the country of Lemnan. Him he appointed chief of his army. I engaged with him, and defeated him, slaying and carrying into slavery 13,000 of his fighting men, and making prisoners 1121 of his captains, and 460 superior officers, with their cohorts."

“In the twenty-third year, I again crossed the Euphrates, and occupied the city of Huidara, the stronghold of Ellal of Meluda; and the kings of Tubal again came in to me, and I received their tribute.

“In the twenty-fourth year, I crossed the river Zab, and passing away from the land of Kharkhar, went up to the country of the Arians. Yanvu, whom I had made king of the Arians, had thrown off his allegiance, so I put him in chains. I captured the city of Esaksha, and took Beth Telabon, Beth Everek, and Beth Tsida, his principal cities. I slew the evil-disposed, and plundered the treasures, and gave the cities over to pillage. I then went out from the land of the Arians, and received the tribute of the twenty-seven kings of the Persians. Afterwards I removed from the land of the Persians, and entered the territory of the Medes, going on to Ratsir and Kharkhar; I occupied the several cities of Kákhidra, of Tarzánem, of Irleban, of Akhirablud, and the towns which depended on them. I punished the evil-disposed. I confiscated the treasures, and gave the cities over to pillage, and I established the authority of my empire in the city of Kharkhar. Yanvu, the son of Khaban (usually written Khanab), with his wives and his gods, and his sons and daughters, his servants and all his property, I carried away captive into my country of Assyria.

“In the twenty-fifth year, I crossed the Euphrates, and received the tribute of the kings of the Sheta. I passed by the country of Khamána, and came to the cities of Akti of Berhui. The city of Tabura, his stronghold, I took by assault. I slew those who resisted, and plundered the treasures; and all the cities of the country I gave over to pillage. Afterwards in the city of Bahura, the capital city of Aram, son of Hagus, I dedicated a temple to the god Rimmon, and I also built a royal palace in the same place.

In the twenty-sixth year, for the seventh time I passed through the country of Khamána. I went on to the cities of Akti of Berhui, and I inhabited the city of Tanaken, which was the stronghold of Etlak; there I performed the rites which belong to the worship of Assarac, the supreme god; and I received as tribute from the country, gold and silver, and corn, and sheep, and oxen. Then I went out from the city of Tanaken, and I came to the country of Leman. The people resisted me, but I subdued the country by force. I took the cities, and slew their defenders; and the wealth of the people, with their cattle and corn and movables, I sent as booty to my country of Assyria. I gave all their cities over to pillage. Then I went on to the country of Methets, where the people paid their homage, and I received gold and silver as their tribute. I appointed Akharriyadon,

the son of Akti, to be king over them. Afterwards I went up to Khamána, where I founded more palaces and temples ; until at length I returned to my country of Assyria.

“ In the twenty-seventh year, I assembled the captains of my army, and I sent Detarasar of Ittána, the general of the forces, in command of my warriors to Armenia ; he proceeded to the land of Khamána, and in the plains belonging to the city of Ambaret, he crossed the river Artseni. Asiduri of Armenia, hearing of the invasion, collected his cohorts and came forth against my troops, offering them battle ; my forces engaged with him and defeated him, and the country at once submitted to my authority.

“ In the twenty-eighth year, whilst I was residing in the city of Calah, a revolt took place on the part of the tribes of the Shetina. They were led on by Sherrila, who had succeeded to the throne on the death of Labarni, the former king. Then I ordered the general of my army, Detarasar of Ittána, to march with my cohorts and all my troops against the rebels. Detarasar accordingly crossed the Upper Euphrates, and marching into the country, established himself in the capital city, Kanalá. Then Sherrila, who was seated on the throne, by the help of the great god Assarac, I obtained possession of his person, and his officers, and the chiefs of the tribes of the Shetina, who had thrown off their allegiance and revolted against me, together with the sons of Sherrila, and the men who administered affairs, and imprisoned or punished all of them ; and I appointed Ar-hasit of Sir-zakisba to be king over the entire land. I exacted a great tribute also from the land, consisting of gold and silver and precious stones, and ebony, &c. &c. &c. ; and I established the national worship throughout the land, making a great sacrifice in the capital city of Kanalá, in the temple which had been there raised to the gods.

“ In the twenty-ninth year, I assembled my warriors and captains, and I ascended with them to the country of the Lek. I accepted the homage of the cities of the land, and I then went on to Shenába.

“ In the thirtieth year, whilst I was still residing in the city of Calah, I summoned Detarasar, the general of my army, and I sent him forth to war in command of my cohorts and forces. He crossed the river Zab, and first came to the cities of Hubiska ; he received the tribute of Daten of Hubiska ; and he went out from thence and came to the country belonging to Mekadul of Melakari, where tribute was duly paid. Leaving the cities of Melakari, he then went on to the country of Huelka of Minni. Huelka of Minni had thrown off his allegiance and declared himself independent, establishing his seat of government in the city of Tsiharta. My general therefore put

him in chains, and carried off his flocks and herds and all his property, and gave his cities over to pillage. Passing out from the country of Minni, he next came to the territory of Selshen of Kharta; he took possession of the city of Maharsar, the capital of the country, and of all the towns which depended on it; and Selshen and his sons he made prisoners and sent to his country, despatching to me their tribute of horses, male and female. He then went into the country of Sardera, and received the tribute of Artaheri of Sardera; he afterwards marched to Persia, and obtained the tribute of the kings of the Persians; and he captured many more cities between Persia and Assyria, and he brought all their riches and treasures with him to Assyria.

“In the thirty-first year, a second time, whilst I abode in the city of Calah, occupied in the worship of the gods Assarac, Hem, and Nebo, I summoned the general of my army, Detarasar of Ittána, and I sent him forth to war in command of my troops and cohorts. He went out accordingly, in the first place, to the territories of Daten of Hubiska, and received his tribute; then he proceeded to Enseri, the capital city of the country of Bazatsera, and he occupied the city of Anseri, and the thirty-six other towns of the country of Bazatsera; he continued his march to the land of Armenia, and he gave over to pillage fifty cities belonging to that territory. He afterwards proceeded to Ladsán, and received the tribute of Hubu of Ladsán, and of the districts of Minni, of Bariana, of Kharran, of Sharrum, of Andi, (and another district of which the name is lost), sheep, oxen, and horses, male and female. Afterwards he went on to a district (of which the name is lost), and he gave up to pillage the cities Biaria and Sitihuria, cities of consideration, together with the twenty-one towns which were attached to them. And he afterwards penetrated as far as the land of the Persians, taking possession of the cities of Baiset, Shel Khamána, and Akori-Khamána, all of them places of strength, and of the twenty-three towns which depended on them; he slew those who resisted, and he carried off the wealth of the cities. And he afterwards moved to the country of the Arians, where, by the help of the gods Assarac and Sut, he captured their cities, and continued his march to the country of Kharets, taking and despoiling 250 towns; until at length he descended into the plains of Esmes, above the country of Umen.¹

¹ (It is extremely difficult to distinguish throughout these last two paragraphs between the first and third persons. In fact, the grammatical prefixes which mark the persons are frequently put one for the other even in the same sentence. From the opening clause of the paragraphs, I certainly under-

stand that the Assyrian general conducted both of these expeditions into High Asia; yet it would seem as if the king, in chronicling the war, wished to appropriate the achievements to himself.)

It remains that I should notice the epigraphs which are engraved on the obelisk above the five series of figures. These epigraphs contain a sort of register of the tribute sent in by five different nations to the Assyrian king; but they do not follow the series of offerings as they are represented in the sculpture with any approach to exactitude.

The first epigraph records the receipt of the tribute from Shehuá of Ladsán, a country which joined Armenia, and which I presume, therefore, to be connected with the Lazi and Lazistán.

The second line of offerings are said to have been sent by Yahua, son of Hubiri, a prince of whom there is no mention in the annals, and of whose native country, therefore, I am ignorant.

This is followed by the tribute of a country which is called Misr, and which there are good grounds for supposing to be Egypt, inasmuch as we are sure from the numerous indications afforded to the position of the inscriptions of Khorsabad, that Misr adjoined Syria, and as the same name (that is, a name pronounced in the same manner, though written with different phonetic characters) is given at Behistun as the Babylonian equivalent of the Persian Mudráya. Misr is not once mentioned in the obelisk annals, and it may be presumed, therefore, to have remained in complete subjection to Assyria during the whole of Temen-bar's reign.

The fourth tribute is that of Sut-pal-adan, of the country of Shekhi, probably a Babylonian or Elymæan prince, who is not otherwise mentioned; and the series is closed by the tribute of Barberanda, the Shetina, a Syrian tribe, which I rather think is the same as the Sharutana of the hieroglyphic writing.

I cannot pretend at present to identify the various articles which are named in these epigraphs; gold and silver, pearls and gems, ebony and ivory, may be made out, I think, with more or less certainty; but I cannot conjecture the nature of many other of the offerings; they may be rare woods, or aromatic gums, or metals, or even such articles as glass or porcelain.

With regard to the animals, those alone which I can certainly identify are horses and camels, the latter being, I think, described as "beasts of the desert with the double back."

I do not think any of the remarkable animals, such as the elephant, the wild bull, the unicorn, the antelope, and the monkeys and baboons, are specified in the epigraphs; but it is possible they may be spoken of as rare animals from the river of Arki and the country beyond the sea.

CHAPTER XVI.

BOTTA'S OPINIONS ON THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ASSYRIAN PALACE AT KHORSABAD.

THE want of consistence in the materials employed in building the walls of the palace of Khorsabad, says M. Botta, rendered them insufficient to withstand the strain of an arch; they were, nevertheless, able, through their great thickness, to support any amount of vertical pressure. There is nothing, then, in the manner in which the supports are constructed which is compatible with any kind of roof, except with one of wood, for which it is particularly suited. The proofs obtained in the interior of the chambers tend to shew that this was actually the system resorted to at Khorsabad. It is incontestable that, during the excavations, a considerable quantity of coal and even pieces of wood, either half burnt or in a perfect state of preservation, were found in many places. The lining of the chambers also bears certain marks of the action of fire. All these things can be explained only by supposing the fall of a burning roof, which calcined the slabs of gypsum and converted them into dust. It would be absurd to imagine that the burning of a small quantity of furniture could have left on the walls marks like those which are to be seen through all the chambers, with the exception of one, which was only an open passage. It must have been a violent and prolonged fire to be able to calcine not only a few places, but every part of these slabs, which were ten feet high and several inches thick. So complete a decomposition can be attributed but to intense heat, such as would be occasioned by the fall of a burning roof. When Botta began his researches at Khorsabad, he remarked that the inscriptions engraved on the pavement before some of the doors were incrustated with a hard copper-coloured cement, which filled the characters, and had turned the surface of the stone green. He now states that he had not at that time made sufficient observations to enable him to understand what he saw. In giving an account of his discoveries to M. Mohl, he said that these inscriptions had been incrustated with copper, and that the oxidation of this metal had produced the effect he remarked. This, he admits, was an error, and subsequent observation has shewn that this copper-coloured cement was but the result of the fusion of nails and bits of copper. He also found on these engraved flag-stones scoria and half-melted nails, so that there is no doubt that these appearances had been produced by the action

of intense and long-sustained heat. He remembers, besides, at Khor-sabad, that when he detached some bas-reliefs from the earthy substance which they covered, in order to copy the inscriptions that were behind, he found there coals and cinders. These could have entered only by the top, between the wall and the back of the bas-reliefs. This can be easily understood while supposed to be caused by the burning of the roof, but is inexplicable in any other manner.

But what tends most positively to prove that the traces of fire must be attributed to the burning of a wooden roof is, that these traces are perceptible only in the interior of the building. The gypsum also that covers the walls inside is completely calcined, while the outside of the building is nearly every where untouched. But wherever the fronting appears to have at all suffered from fire, it is at the bottom: thus giving reason to suppose that the damage has been done by some burning matter falling outside. In fact, not a single bas-relief capable of preservation was found in any of the chambers: they were all pulverised. Nearly all those of the outside might, on the contrary, have been detached and sent to France; for though a few were broken, yet the stone on which they were sculptured was in a state of good preservation. Is not this the effect that would be produced on an edifice by the falling in of a burning roof, and can this circumstance be otherwise explained?

M. Flandin, the artist who assisted M. Botta in his researches, was of opinion that the quantity of coals and cinders did not appear so large as might be expected to remain after the burning of a roof as immense as that of Khorsabad. He also considered that the half-burnt beams which have been found in the chambers belonged to the doors near which they were generally discovered. This assertion, however, M. Botta thinks is far from being supported by the following fact. Before M. Flandin's arrival, M. Botta states that he had found coals, cinders, and the remains of burnt joists; and in a letter published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* of Paris, he had particularly noticed this circumstance, as affording proof that the state in which the palace was found had been occasioned by the burning of the roof. The place in which burnt joists were first discovered was in the centre of one of the chambers, as far from any of the doors as it was possible to be. The wood found there could not have belonged to the doors. With respect to the quantity, it will easily be seen that, after a fire, it will be more or less great according to circumstances that it is now impossible to account for. The relative rareness of these remains has doubtless been caused by the quality and dryness of the wood, by the influence of combustion—or the greater or less length of time during which the floor of the chambers was

exposed to the action of the elements before the palace was engulfed. What is certain is, that the whole interior of the chambers is calcined, while the outside walls are untouched. It is impossible to attribute this effect to any other cause but the burning of a wooden roof; and this supposition is corroborated by indications discovered during the excavations. The supposition of an arched roof, on the contrary, is supported by no evidence, and is incompatible with the nature of the materials employed in the construction of the walls, and with the entire absence of any thing solid among the ruins. M. Botta therefore concludes that there is no cause for doubt that the palace of Khorsabad was roofed with wood. In this opinion he states that Mr. Layard coincides, for that several of the monuments found by him at Nimroud were covered over with pieces of wood, like those at Khorsabad.



CHAPTER XVII.

LATEST PROCEEDINGS AND DISCOVERIES IN ASSYRIA.

AT the meeting of the British Association last year (1850), the Rev. Dr. Hincks read a paper on the language and mode of writing of the ancient Assyrians. In this paper the author began by observing that the language and mode of writing of the Assyrians are themselves two important ethnological facts. The language of the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions is generally admitted to be of the family called Semitic. It is in many respects strikingly like the Hebrew, but has some peculiarities in common with the Egyptian, the relationship of which to the Semitic languages has been already recognised. The mode of writing of the Assyrians differed from that of the Hebrew and other Semitic languages, and agreed with the Egyptian in that it was partly ideographic. Some words consisted entirely of ideographs; others were written in part phonetically, but had ideographs united with the phonetic part. As to the part of the writing which consisted of phonographs, Dr. Hincks maintained, in opposition to all other writers, that the characters had all definite syllabic values; there being no consonants, and consequently no necessity or liberty of supplying vowels. In proof that the characters had definite syllabic values, he handed about copies of a lithographed plate, in which examples of various forms of words analogous to those existing in Hebrew were collected together. This use of characters representing syllables he considered to be an indication that though the language of the Assyrians was Semitic, their mode of writing was not so. A second proof that the mode of writing was not Semitic, he derived from the absence of distinct syllables to represent combinations of the peculiar Semitic consonants, Koph and Ain. From these facts he inferred that the Assyrio-Babylonian mode of writing was adopted from some Indo-European nation who had probably conquered Assyria; and he thought it likely that this nation had intercourse with the Egyptians, and had, in part at least, derived their mode of writing from that most ancient people.

This paper having been read, Major Rawlinson observed that Dr. Hincks had stated that he considered the difference between the two systems adopted by Major Rawlinson and himself of interpreting the inscriptions to be, that the one took the signs for letters, and the other for syllables. Now he (Major Rawlinson) by no means ad-

mitted that he did take the signs altogether for letters. He believed them all to have once had a syllabic value, as the names of the objects which they represented, but to have been subsequently used—usually its initial articulation—to express a mere portion of a syllable. He could adduce numerous instances where the cuneiform signs were used as *bonâ fide* letters; but, at the same time, the two systems of interpretation might now be said to be very nearly identical: so far, indeed, as he understood Dr. Hincks's paper, there appeared to be only about half a dozen out of a hundred letters on the phonetic powers of which they were not agreed. Our first acquaintance with these Cuneatic writings was of modern date. Certain inscriptions were found in various parts of Persia engraved in three different languages and alphabets, all of which were originally unknown. One of these three forms of writing was at length found out, and by the help of it the others were eliminated. The first mode of writing was the most simple, and being applied to a language which very nearly resembled the Sanscrit, it was the first deciphered. The method of this decipherment might appear to people unacquainted with the subject somewhat marvellous; but, after all, the process was not so very difficult. The mode of the discovery of the letters was simply this: two inscriptions were found at Ilumadaw, one of Darius and the other of Xerxes, which were exactly the same, except where the names of the kings occurred. Consequently, on comparing the one inscription with the other, the exact groups which represented these proper names could be determinately identified. The next step was to apply certain names to see if the letters answered; and the very first attempt was, by a happy chance, successful. That gave the decipherer a certain number of characters, which were then applied to vowels and names found in other tablets and inscriptions, and thus by degrees a complete alphabet was formed. It was accomplished with the less difficulty, because the language was of the Sanscrit family, which was very easy to read. By the help of this Persian key an attempt was then made to read the inscriptions in the other two languages; one which had hitherto been called the Median, but which he maintained was Scythic, and the other undoubtedly Assyrian or Semitic. The inscriptions throughout Persia were in these three distinct languages; and he would now say a few words on their ethnological relations. He thought they could trace pretty well the historical period of the introduction of the Persian language. It seemed to be almost established that the Persians and Hindús departed from a common centre about fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, the Hindús passing beyond the Indus, and colonising Argavertta, whilst

the Persians travelled westward into Teherassan. An exact description of these migrations of the Persians was given in the opening chapters of the Vendidad, one of their earliest books. Their language, as it appeared in the Achæmenian inscriptions, had been now very well analysed, and found to be closely allied to the Sanscrit, whilst it was also the parent of the modern Persian. Before the race in question entered Persia, a population had existed there, which he believed to be Scythian; the language of the second class of Cunefinic inscriptions being in fact the language of the aborigines. This tongue was of the same sort as the Mogul and Tartar; and he believed it to have been spoken by the greater part of the aboriginal inhabitants of Persia. At any rate, it was the native language of the Parthians and the other great tribes who inhabited the north of Persia. There were several proofs of this. Firstly, the people themselves, who engraved the inscriptions in question, evidently recognised a distinction between them and the Persians—an ethnological distinction; for, when speaking of Ormasd, the supreme god of Persia, they called him emphatically “the God of the Arians,” so that, even in those early days, the ethnological distinction, the distinction of races, was perfectly well known. Again, he thought that the Parthians spoke the same language. We had very few Parthian words now available for examination; but the name of the Parthian king, Parthamasbate, belonged, at any rate, to the language in question. His own impression was, that hundreds of the languages at one time current through Asia were now utterly lost; and it was not, therefore, to be expected that philologists or ethnologists would ever succeed in making out a genealogical table of language, and in affiliating all the various dialects. Coming to the Assyrian and Babylonian languages, we were first made acquainted with them as translations of the Persian and Parthian documents in the above-noticed trilingual inscriptions of Persia; but lately we had had an enormous amount of historical matter brought to light in tablets of stone written in these languages alone. The languages in question he certainly considered to be Semitic. He doubted whether they could trace at present in any of the buildings or inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia the original primitive civilisation of man—that civilisation which took place in the very earliest ages. He was of opinion that civilisation first shewed itself in Egypt after the immigration of the early tribes from Asia. He thought that the human intellect first germinated on the Nile, and that then there was, in a later age, a reflux of civilisation from the Nile back to Asia. He was quite satisfied that the system of writing in use on the Tigris and Euphrates was taken from the Nile; but he admitted that it was carried to a

much higher state of perfection in Assyria than it had ever reached in Egypt. The earliest Assyrian inscriptions were those lately discovered by Mr. Layard in the north-west palace at Nimroud, being much earlier than any thing found at Babylon. Now the great question was the date of these inscriptions. Mr. Layard himself, when he published his book on Nineveh, believed them to be 2500 years before the Christian era; but others, and Dr. Hincks among the number, brought them down to a much later date, supposing the historical tablets to refer to the Assyrian kings mentioned in Scripture (Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, &c.). He (Major Rawlinson) did not agree with either one of these calculations or the other—he was inclined to place the earliest inscriptions from Nimroud between 1350 and 1200 before the Christian era; because, in the first place, they had a limit to antiquity; for, in the earliest inscriptions, there was a notice of the sea-ports of Phœnicia, of Tyre and Sidon, of Byblus, Arcidus, &c., and it was well known that these cities were not founded more than 1500 years before the Christian era. We find again certain tribes (the Khita, the Sherutena, and others) mentioned in these inscriptions, which are only to be found in the Egyptian inscriptions of a particular date, that is, during the eighteenth and nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth dynasties. The earliest of the Assyrian inscriptions were, in his opinion, about synchronous with the close of the eighteenth dynasty, and none of the documents which he had yet seen were so late as the twenty-second dynasty. As another proof of the antiquity of the records at Nimroud and Khorsabad, Major Rawlinson referred to the cities in lower Chaldea, and stated that numerous cities had been lately visited in those parts where traces were found of a series of kings extending from 747 before the Christian era to 600; but in all these cities and in all these inscriptions they had never found any trace of the names by which the cities were designated in the earlier records. This shewed that the names of these cities and countries had all been changed during the period which elapsed between the Assyrian and Babylonian periods, and consequently placed the former period long before the era of Nabonasser, or B. C. 747. He could not admit the hypothesis of Dr. Hincks with regard to the Indo-European origin of the Assyrians, for their language was as much Semitic as the Hebrew or Chaldean, and the mode of writing was much more Egyptian than Indo-European; the Assyrians he believed to have hardly come in contact with Indo-European tribes. They certainly knew nothing of India—their arms never penetrated eastward of the Caspian Sea. Of course, they came in contact with many Scythian tribes, and more especially with the Cymri; but whether

this last tribe had any thing to do with our Celtic Cymri he could not undertake to say; his own opinion was, however, that they had not. He rather believed that the Celts applied specifically to themselves the name of Cymri, which was a generic name for Nomades, as a Mogul tribe named themselves Eluth, from Eelyant, the generic name of the wandering tribes of Persia. Major Rawlinson added, that we had every prospect of a most important accession to our ethnological materials, for every letter he got from the countries now being explored announced fresh discoveries of the utmost importance. In Lower Chaldea, Mr. Loftus, the geologist to the commission appointed to fix the boundaries between Turkey and Persia, had visited many cities which no European had ever reached before, and had every where found the most extraordinary remains. At one place, Senkereh, he had come on a pavement, extending from half an acre to an acre, entirely covered with writing which was engraved upon baked tiles, &c. At Wurka (or Ur of the Chaldees), whence Abraham came out, he had found innumerable inscriptions; they were of no great extent, but they were exceedingly interesting, giving many royal names previously unknown. Wurka (Ur or Orchoe) seemed to be a holy city, for the whole country, for miles upon miles, was nothing but a huge necropolis. In none of the excavations in Assyria had coffins ever been found, but in this city of Chaldea there were thousands upon thousands. The story of Abraham's birth at Wurka did not originate with the Arabs, as had sometimes been conjectured, but with the Jews; and the Orientals had numberless fables about Abraham and Nimroud. Mr. Layard, in excavating beneath the great pyramid at Nimroud, had penetrated a mass of masonry, within which he had discovered the tomb and statue of Sardanapalus, accompanied by full annals of the monarch's reign engraved on the walls. He had also found tablets of all sorts, all of them being historical; but the crowning discovery he had yet to describe. The palace at Nineveh, or Kouyunjik, had evidently been destroyed by fire, but one portion of the building seemed to have escaped its influence; and Mr. Layard, in excavating in this part of the palace, had found a large room filled with what appeared to be the archives of the empire, ranged in successive tablets of terra cotta, the writings being as perfect as when the tablets were first stamped. They were piled in huge heaps from the floor to the ceiling; and he wrote to him (Major Rawlinson), stating that he had already filled five large cases for despatch to England, but had only cleared out one corner of the apartment. From the progress already made in reading the inscriptions, he believed we should be able pretty well to understand the contents of these tablets—at all events, we should

ascertain their general purport, and thus gain much valuable information. A passage might be remembered in the book of Ezra, where the Jews having been disturbed in building the Temple, prayed that search might be made in the house of records for the edict of Cyrus permitting them to return to Jerusalem. The chamber recently found might be presumed to be the house of records of the Assyrian kings, where copies of the royal edicts were duly deposited. When these tablets had been examined and deciphered, he believed that we should have a better acquaintance with the history, the religion, the philosophy, and the jurisprudence of Assyria 1500 years before the Christian era, than we had of Greece or Rome during any period of their respective histories.

Intelligence of Layard's more recent movements finds a place from time to time in the newspapers and literary journals of the day. In the columns of the *Athenæum* a short paragraph every now and then reports progress, leading us to anticipate the period when our national repositories will be enriched by further spoils from Assyria. These reports of progress may be here introduced *verbatim*, since they contain, in truth, the latest news about the explorer of the buried cities of the East. Let them stand under the years to which they refer.

1849. "We have already referred to the niggardly grant which the Government has made to Mr. Layard in furtherance of his interesting researches at Nineveh; and we are now glad to think that the friends of this young, successful, and untiring antiquary are looking on the grant in the light in which it ought to be viewed—as one unworthy of a great nation in a matter of such remarkable literary interest—and are aiding him from their own private resources. The Trustees of the Museum have talked about an advance of 200*l.* on the Government grant; but this, we believe, has been rejected, and Mr. Layard is by this time prosecuting his researches chiefly on the profits of his valuable work, and on the assistance of his relations and friends. When we reflect that the highly interesting and extensive collection of Assyrian marbles and ivories now in the British Museum were obtained by Government at a merely nominal price, and that if sold at Sotheby and Wilkinson's they would probably have realised a very large sum—ten times, perhaps, what was given for them (witness the recent purchase of the Stowe mss. for 8000*l.*)—we must confess to some surprise that Government should have been so niggardly in its second advance. The fine English spirit of research displayed by Mr. Layard, and his known unwillingness to profit in pocket by his discoveries when the British nation is a purchaser,

should have been met by a nobler return than they have yet received from the representatives of the British people."—*July 28.*

1850. "Dr. Layard is prosecuting his researches with energy and success. By letters dated Nimroud, Jan. 7, we learn that he has effected an entrance into a room in the old Nimroud palace, containing an extraordinary assortment of relics: shields, swords, pateræ, bowls, crowns, cauldrons, ornaments in ivory and mother-of-pearl, &c. The vessels are formed of a kind of copper, or rather bronze,—some perfectly preserved, and as bright as gold when the rust is removed. The engravings and embossing on them are very beautiful and elaborate; and comprise the same mythic subjects which are found on the robes of the figures in the sculptures,—men struggling with lions, warriors in chariots, and hunting scenes. Now, a serious question occurs to us: are these precious relics, when they arrive at Busrah, to be entrusted to any ignorant and careless ship-captain who may be ready to convey them to England? We have not forgotten the fate of the last cargo of curious ivories, glass, &c., which suffered such wanton outrage on the voyage and at Bombay. If the Government really feel an interest in Dr. Layard's proceedings, a vessel should be sent from Bombay expressly to receive his consignments; but we fancy there is little chance of any such step being taken. At Kouyunjik, Dr. Layard has uncovered a very interesting series of slabs, shewing the process of building the mounds and palaces."—*March 2.*

"Accounts are stated to have been received, within a few days back, from Mr. Layard, in Assyria, giving intelligence of new and important discoveries in the Nimroud mound. He has made fresh and extensive excavations in parts of the eminence not yet explored; and the result is said to have been the finding of nothing less than the throne on which the monarch reigning about 3000 years ago sat in his splendid palace. It is composed of metal and of ivory,—the metal being richly wrought and the ivory beautifully carved. The throne seems to have been separated from the state apartments by means of a large curtain, the rings by which it was drawn and undrawn having been preserved. No human remains have come to light, and every thing indicates the destruction of the palace by fire. It is said that the throne has been partially fused by the heat."—*March 23d.*

"Intelligence from Mosul to the 4th ult. states that Mr. Layard and his party are still carrying on their excavations at Nimroud and Nineveh. A large number of copper vessels, beautifully engraved, have been found in the former; and from the latter a large assort-

ment of fine slabs illustrative of the rule, conquests, domestic life, and arts of the ancient Assyrians, are daily coming to light, and are committed to paper by the artist, Mr. Cooper, one of the Expedition. Mr. Layard intends to make a trip to the Chaboor, the Chaboras of the Romans, and to visit Reish Aina, the Resen of Scripture, where he hopes to find a treasure of Assyrian remains.”—*April 20th.*

1851. “The funds placed at the disposal of Mr. Layard by the British Government being exhausted, that gentleman has been obliged to abandon several new excavations which he had commenced at Nimroud and at Nebbi Yunus, and which promised to lead to historical discoveries of the utmost importance. He has now proceeded to Babylonia, for the purpose of examining the various ancient sites that are scattered over that extensive country, and with a view of ascertaining the spots most favourable for excavation. As this object, however, is one of national rather than of individual interest, it is thought that there are many in this country who would regret to see the expenses of the work thus thrown upon Mr. Layard, and who would willingly come forward with pecuniary aid in order to relieve him from personal liability. Mr. Murray, of Albemarle-street, will receive any such contributions, and will take the necessary steps for transmitting to Mr. Layard the sum subscribed, to be expended by him during the ensuing winter in Babylonian or Assyrian excavation, according as circumstances may render advisable.”

Such, we may repeat, are the latest public notices we find about the explorer of the buried cities of the East.



APPENDIX

BOTTA'S OWN ACCOUNT OF HIS GREAT WORK.

As AUTHOR of a discovery, and as the person charged to give an account of it, I naturally reflected on the manner in which this should be done, in order to answer the expectation of the learned, and the generosity of the Government. It appeared to me that the object of a work of this nature should not be to publish personal opinions, which are always liable to be disputed, but simply to collect the materials necessary for the study of so new a subject, and to display them exactly as they had been observed. A commission had been appointed, by order of the Minister of the Interior, to superintend the publication of the work. This commission composed of the most competent persons, namely, Messrs. Raoul, Rechette, Letroune, Lenormant, J. Mohl, E. Barnouf, F. Lajard, Guigniant, Ingres, and L. H. Lebas. I consulted this commission on the execution of the task with which I was charged, and it was unanimous in advising me to keep to a simple description of what I had seen, because it would always enable persons to recur to it without being exposed to fear of confounding what was really fact to what was mere hypothesis.

I have adopted the advice of the commission, and, therefore, archæological discussions on the history of Assyria, on the site of Nineveh, or on the presumed epoch of the building of the monument, etc., etc., must not be looked for in my pages. It would have been an easy matter for me to make a useless show of factitious erudition upon these obscure points; but I have carefully abstained from so doing, and keep to a relation of facts. This manner of proceeding is doubtlessly less satisfactory to the *amour-propre* of the authors, and perhaps less interesting to such readers as read only to be amused; but I have adopted it because I desired, above all things, to produce a sterling and durable work, which might always be consulted with confidence, and which might serve as a sure base for the researches of the learned.

The same reasons induced the commission to insist on the plates containing nothing hypothetical—nothing, however plausible the conjectures of the draughtsman might be, which could be attributed to his imagination, and which was not the exact representation of the objects such as he had beheld them. Neither in the plans, therefore, nor in the elevations, has any attempt

at restoration been made. The re-establishment of the bas-reliefs are not arbitrary, and M. Flandin has only shown where the fallen fragments should be, these lying actually upon the spot, and corresponding, without the least doubt, to the place where they have been placed. These restitutions are, consequently, not conjectural, but merely show things in the state they would be in at the present day, if the detached portions of the bas-reliefs were restored to their place.

To collect and furnish data for future researchers has been, then, the idea which guided me in the execution of this work. If I have sometimes departed from it, I had done so in order to facilitate for others the solution of various obscure questions which belong to the subject; that is to say, in such cases I have proposed those explanations which, in my opinion, agreed the best with the facts; but I have always commenced by describing the facts themselves, calling attention to everything which could militate in favour of this or that opinion, in order that archæologists might possess all the elements necessary for enabling them to decide in favour of one or the other.

The work is naturally divided into two parts: one containing architecture and sculpture, and the other the inscriptions. In the first, after a short description of the discovery, and of the works it necessitated, I first describe the monument in general, then passing the façades and the apartments in review, I give an account of the sculpture which ornaments them, and the different objects which were found during the excavations, and I then conclude with a few generalities, which are, in some sort, merely the summary of the facts such as they occurred. To this portion of the work, there is a series of plates corresponding with the text, and containing the plans, the elevations, the sculpture, the details, and the miscellaneous objects.

In the second part, after having said a few words on the cuneiform writing in general, I give a detailed account of the kinds employed in the inscriptions discovered by me; that is to say, I give a catalogue of the signs there employed, with the various readings they may offer. I then state all the observations that I was able to make, and which appeared to me useful in aiding the learned in their attempts at deciphering. I compare the cuneiform character of Nineveh with those of Babylon, of Van, and of Persepolis, etc. One of the most remarkable features of the Assyrian character being the frequent substitution of certain signs for others, I give the list of all those which thus mutually replace each other. In a word, I have applied myself to collecting every fact, every element, which can be of service to the scholar in his researches. Such has been the sole aim of my labours. I did not wish, by any attempts at deciphering, which could be but more or less guess-work, to run the chance of mixing up with undeniable facts any conjectures which, perhaps later, might be proved to be false, and which would have been prejudicial to the character of certainty which I desired to impart to the whole.

As this work is the fruit of two persons' labours, it is essential to say which part must be attributed to each of them. The plates which relate to the architecture and sculpture are the work of M. Flandin. Everything was measured and designed by this gentleman, who, feeling equally with myself of

what importance it was for objects of such novelty that the representations given should be exact, has applied himself to a scrupulous reproduction of what he saw. The minutest details have been measured, counted, and drawn upon the spot by him with the greatest care. His labours, performed in the midst of difficulties of every description, will perpetuate the recollection of a monument which already exists no more, and will give him who had perseverance to accomplish it, a right to the gratitude of every friend of art and archæological science. The part taken by M. Flandin in this publication is not, however, limited to the measurements of the monument, and to the drawings of the bas-reliefs—there is another indirect, but no less important one. Associated with me in my researches, he shared in the long and difficult operations necessary for exhuming the monument I had discovered, and our success is in a great measure due to his intelligence and activity.

The reader will, no doubt, remark that my opinion sometimes differs from M. Flandin, not only with regard to the explanation of certain facts, but even on the existence or the form of certain details. That, however, ought not, in any way, to detract from the merit of his labours. It happens every day that the same object is viewed in a different light by different persons, who all regard it with attention, and endeavour, with an equal amount of good faith, to explain it. Some particular detail which has been perceived by one, may have escaped the observation of another, without the possibility of our accusing the latter either of forgetfulness or negligence. A difference of this kind is the more easily explained, because in the monument of Nineveh, the objects to be copied were extremely numerous, and often in a dilapidated state, and were, perhaps, viewed by M. Flandin and myself either at different periods altogether, or at different hours of the day, and no one is ignorant of the fact that this is sufficient to change the aspect of any surface we may contemplate. Besides, it is very rarely that I do not agree with M. Flandin, and whenever this happens, it is never except with regard to minutiae which in themselves are of no importance. In the cases where our opinion differs, he has, in the plates, represented, as he was bound to do, the objects as he beheld them, and, in the text, I have given my manner of seeing them, and stated the reasons which appeared to me to render the one or other of our opinions the more probable, in order that the reader might be enabled to judge for himself.

The entire text, including that portion of it which treats of the architecture and the sculpture, as well as that which relates to the inscriptions, is mine; only, in the composition of the first portion, I availed myself of the measurements which had been taken by M. Flandin.

All the inscriptions were copied by me and engraved under my direction. They are one hundred and ninety in number, whereas the number of the plates which contain them extends to two hundred and twenty. The reason of this is as follows. Some inscriptions were of so large a size that it would have been impossible to get them into one plate without reducing the size of the characters very much. This would have rendered the study of them extremely fatiguing. We were therefore obliged to divide them, but in all such

instances care has been taken to number the lines in such a manner that the reader can go, without difficulty, from one part of the inscription to the other portion contained in the following plate. Besides this, some of the inscriptions, although separated on the monuments themselves, follow each other, and, in reality, form but one very long inscription—they are different parts of one and the same subject, and the reader must pass successively from one to the other. In these cases the same order has been preserved in the engraving of the plates, which, although differently numbered, follow each other, the lines being numbered from first to last.

Besides the copies made from the monuments themselves, I took the pains to take impressions in paper, of the inscriptions whenever that was possible. These impressions, which possess all the delicacy of the originals, enabled me to collate the copies at Paris, and to correct the proof-sheets: one hundred and thirty-five inscriptions were revised in this way, and the reader may, therefore, be certain that the engravings are as exact as it was possible to make them. As a still greater guarantee, these impressions have been placed in the *Cabinet des Antiques*, at the National Library in Paris, in order that, if any doubts arose later on the reading of certain passages, it would always be possible to verify their exactitude, or detect the faults which might have glided in.

There is no doubt that the collated inscriptions are those which, as I have just said, he studied with greatest degree of security; but the others, with the exception of the first few, are equally deserving of confidence. I had become so accustomed, while at Khorsabad, to the Assyrian cuneiform character, that I can guarantee the perfect exactitude of my work, except in those cases where the original monuments were in a very delapidated condition. I think I may assert that, as regards correctness, no plates of cuneiform inscriptions to be compared to those of this work, have ever been presented to the public.

It will be remarked that the text of several of the inscriptions is the same. I believe, however, that I was serving the cause of science in taking the trouble to copy everything, and in having everything engraved. These inscriptions of the same nature, although, doubtless, less interesting when we can read them, are precisely those which are the most useful for study, and which will facilitate our attempts at deciphering; they acquaint us, in fact, with the equivalents for certain signs, as well as the limits of their variations, and, as they are not all divided in the same manner, the terminations of the lines, which are different in each, supply us with the means of dividing the words, and of thus overcoming one of the greatest difficulties in the way of our interpreting the Assyrian texts.

The material execution of the work is worthy of the interest taken by the learned world in the discoveries which form its subject, and of the munificence of the government which took upon itself the expense of publication. M. Gide, who was charged with the undertaking, has omitted nothing to merit the confidence reposed in him. The plates have been engraved by the first artists, under the inspection of the commission, who have always been

careful to assure themselves that the engravings were the faithful reproduction of M. Flandin's drawings. The letter-press is from the presses of the *Imprimerie Nationale*. For printing the part relative to the inscriptions, a fount of Assyrian cuneiform characters was cast, as remarkable for their exactitude, as for the skill with which the numerous difficulties of execution were surmounted.

Such will be the description of the first Assyrian monument ever discovered ; it will, I trust, form an epoch in the annals of Archæology. We now know that all the mounds scattered over the soil of Assyria, contain edifices buried beneath, and whenever circumstances shall permit the necessary works to be executed, this country, like Egypt, will become an inexhaustable mine of antiquities, the explanation of which will, for many years to come, afford a perfectly new subject of study. I esteem myself happy in having been the first to open the way, and gain for France one scientific honour more.

In concluding I shall, I trust, be allowed to express publicly my gratitude to those gentlemen who have contributed to the success of the work I have undertaken. Political changes ought not to prevent my offering, in the first place, my thanks to *Le Comte Duchatel*. It was he who, not satisfied with having generously supplied me with the means of continuing my researches, enriched the Museum of Paris with the first collection of Assyrian antiquities brought to Europe ; and who desired, by this publication, to preserve the recollection of what we had been unable to convey to France.

I owe a similar tribute of thanks to Messrs. J. Mohl, E. Burnouf, Letroune, Lenouant, Raoul-Rochette, Guigniant, Lajard, and Vitet. The first named gentleman, by acquainting me with the importance on archæological studies on Assyria, led me to undertake the researches, the results of which are contained in this work, and it is to him that the first honour of my success is due. The other gentlemen have not ceased to guide me by their counsels, or to employ in my favour the influence always exerted in our country by all who have acquired a high position in the ranks of science. May this work not appear unworthy of the learned men I have just named ! Their approbation will be for me the most precious reward I can ever attain.

P. E. BOTTA.

May 1849.



To be Published March 31st, 1851, and continued Monthly.



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THE Age in which we live is essentially of a *practical* character, and the predominant principle influencing all classes is a marked desire for *cheapness*. Cheapness, however, is too often found without excellence, and hence this proposition to supply a deficiency at present existing in the popular literature of this country.

For some time past the projectors of the present undertaking have felt interested in watching the result of an experiment simultaneously made by the London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Book Trades, and having seen that cheap, and occasionally indifferent literature, "got up" in a most inferior manner, *will sell*, they feel assured that good and judiciously selected works, having the additional advantage of **COPIOUS ILLUSTRATION**, being produced with the utmost attention to general excellence, and published at the moderate price fixed upon, cannot fail to secure extensive patronage from the Reading Public. The principal upon which they can undertake to supply good books at a low rate is, that being themselves the *actual producers*, they are enabled to save the public the expense of all *intermediate profit*.

As a practical explanation of the above views, it is, therefore, proposed to publish, on the 31st of March next, **THREE SAMPLE VOLUMES** of the "**NATIONAL ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY**." These volumes will be widely different in character, in order that the public may form some idea of the extent and variety of the series generally. Afterwards, one volume will be issued monthly. Each volume will contain at least 320 crown octavo pages, illustrated according to the requirements of the subject matter, by from 50 to 100 illustrations, and will be *strongly bound* in ornamental cloth boards. Thus for thirty shillings a-year, in the course of a short period, a Library of great extent and interest may be formed, which shall furnish materials for instruction and amusement during the course of a long life.

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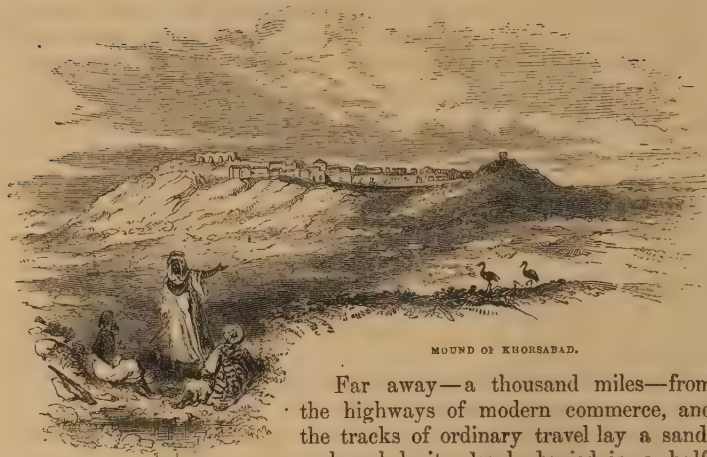
those great masterpieces of the human mind, which having survived beyond the generation for which they were written, are now universally recognised as worthy to flourish so long as the English language is spoken, and an acquaintance with which is indispensably necessary to all who pretend to a taste for English Literature.

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Many among those to whom this prospectus is addressed must have observed that one great feature of the present period is the conveyance of instruction by appealing to the eye. It will be readily understood that whole pages of narrative and long abstruse descriptions may be condensed into an illustration to be comprehended at a glance. Pictures fix indelibly on the mind circumstances that might otherwise escape the memory; and a liveliness of attention is thus excited, and a relief afforded to the mental faculties which is as agreeable to adults as to children. There can be no doubt that the pencil is destined for the future to perform as prominent a part in our popular literature as the pen, or that the diffusion of knowledge has already been greatly augmented by its powers.

If it be thought that the foregoing professions are too diffuse and too difficult of accomplishment, it may be said, that the present idea is strictly in accordance with the operation of the general progress of Literature, since it will be found that every generation has had its wants similarly provided for. The present undertaking, however, is wider in its scope, more profound in its aim, and more profuse of its embellishments, illustrations, and editing, than any former project, and is strictly in accordance with the amazing progress that has been made in every department of Literature and Art, and their mechanical developments, during the last portion of this half century.

In carrying out their undertaking it will be the endeavour of the projectors to bestow upon Half-crown Volumes for the *many* the same typographical accuracy, and the same artistic ability, hitherto almost exclusively devoted to high priced books for the *few*. Supported by the co-operation of the Reading Public, no pains will be spared to provide every English home with a complete treasury of knowledge and entertainment in the volumes of the "NATIONAL ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY."



MOUND OF KHORSABAD.

Far away—a thousand miles—from the highways of modern commerce, and the tracks of ordinary travel lay a sand-enshrouded city deeply buried in a half-desert Turkish Province, with no certain trace of its place of sepulchre. Vague tradition said that it was hidden somewhere near the river Tigris; but for full two thousand years its known existence in the world was as a mere name; a word. That name suggested the idea of an ancient capital of fabulous splendour and magnitude; a congregation of palaces and other dwellings encompassed by walls and ramparts, vast but scarcely real.

Old writers—men who lived a thousand years *before* our times, yet a thousand years *after* many of the things they tell about—spoke of the buried city as one in their days known only by tradition, and as one whose fate had long been sealed—blotted out of the world it had once helped



ASSYRIAN LION HUNT.

advanced towards us,—he announced his awful approach to me, somewhat in the manner of an actor in the part of Horatio, when he addresses Hamlet on the appearance of his father's ghost, "Look my Lord, it comes."

I found that I had a very perfect idea of Johnson's figure, from the portrait of him painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds soon after he had published his Dictionary, in the attitude of sitting in his easy chair in deep meditation; which was the first picture his friend did for him, which Sir Joshua very kindly presented to me, and from which an engraving has been made for this work. Mr. Davies mentioned my name, and respect-



fully introduced me to him. I was much agitated; and recollecting his prejudice against the Scotch, of which I had heard much, I said to Davies, "Don't tell where I come from."—"From Scotland," cried Davies roguishly. "Mr. Johnson (said I), I do indeed come from Scotland, but I cannot help it." I am willing to flatter myself that I meant this as light pleasantry to soothe and conciliate him, and not as a humiliating abasement at the expense of my country. But however that might be, this speech was somewhat unlucky; for with that quickness of wit for which he was so remarkable, he seized the expression "come from Scotland," which I used in the sense of being of that country; and, as if I had said that I had come away from it, or left it, retorted "That, Sir, I find, is what a very great many of your countrymen cannot help."



AKEN lords and ladies gay,
 On the mountain dawns the day ;
 All the jolly chase is here,
 With hawk, and horse, and hunting spear ;
 Hounds are in their couples yelling,
 Hawks are whistling, horns are knelling ;
 Merrily, merrily, mingle they,
 " Waken lords and ladies gay."

Waken lords and ladies gay,
 The mist has left the mountain grey,
 Springlets in the dawn are streaming,
 Diamonds in the brake are gleaming,
 And foresters have busy been,
 To trace the Buck in thicket green ;
 Now we come to chaunt our lay,
 " Waken lords and ladies gay."

OPINIONS OF MACAULAY AND CARLYLE ON "BOSWELL'S LIFE OF JOHNSON."

That the uninitiated may form some idea of the entertaining character of *BOSWELL'S LIFE OF JOHNSON*, critical opinions of the work from the pens of two of our greatest living writers, viz., Macaulay and Carlyle, are subjoined :— Mr. Macaulay thus expresses himself—

"The Life of Johnson is assuredly a great, a very great work. Homer is not more decidedly the first of dramatists, Demosthenes is not more decidedly the first of orators, than Boswell is the first of biographers. He has no second. He has distanced all his competitors so decidedly that it is not worth while to place them. Eclipse is first, and the rest nowhere.

"We are not sure that there is in the whole history of the human intellect so strange a phenomenon as this book. Many of the greatest men that ever lived have written biography. Boswell was one of the smallest men that ever lived, and he has beaten them all. * * * He was a slave, proud of his servitude, a Paul Pry, convinced that his own curiosity and garrulity were virtues, an unsafe companion who never scrupled to repay the most liberal hospitality by the basest violation of confidence, a man without delicacy, without shame, without sense enough to know when he was hurting the feelings of others or when he was exposing himself to derision; and because he was all this, he has in an important department of literature, immeasurably surpassed such writers as Tacitus, Clarendon, Alfieri, and his own idol Johnson. * * *

"Johnson grown old, Johnson in the fulness of his fame and in the enjoyment of a competent fortune, is better known to us than any other man in history. Every thing about him, his coat, his wig, his figure, his face, his scrofula, his St. Vitus's dance, his rolling walk, his blinking eye, the outward signs which too clearly marked his approbation of his dinner, his insatiable appetite for fish-sauce and veal-pie with plums, his inextinguishable thirst for tea, his trick of touching the posts as he walked, his mysterious practice for treasuring up scraps of orange-peel, his morning slumbers, his midnight disputations, his contortions, his mutterings, his gruntings, his puffings, his vigorous, acute, and ready eloquence, his sarcastic wit, his vehemence, his insolence, his fits of tempestuous rage, his queer inmates, old Mr. Levett and blind Mrs. Williams, the cat Hodge, and the negro Frank, all are familiar to us as the objects by which we have been surrounded from childhood."

Speaking of *BOSWELL'S LIFE OF JOHNSON* Mr. Carlyle says—

"That loose-flowing, careless-looking work of his, is as a picture by one of Nature's own Artists; the best possible resemblance of a Reality; like the very image thereof in a clear mirror. Which indeed it was: let but the mirror be *clear*, this is the great point; the picture must and will be genuine. How the babbling Bozzy, inspired only by love, and the recognition and vision which love can lend, epitomises nightly the words of Wisdom, the deeds and aspects of Wisdom, and so by little and little, unconsciously works together for us a whole *Johnsoniad*; a more free, perfect, sunlit, and spirit speaking likeness, than for many centuries had been drawn by man of man! Scarcely since the days of Homer has the feat been equalled; indeed in many senses, this also is a kind of Heroic Poem. The fit Odyssey of our unheroic age was to be written, not sung; of a Thinker, not of a Fighter; and (for want of a Homer) by the first open soul that might offer,—looked such even through the organs of a Boswell. * * *

"As for the Book itself, questionless the universal favour entertained for it is well merited. In worth as a Book we have rated it beyond any other product of the eighteenth century. * * *. Which of us but remembers, as one of the sunny spots in his existence, the day when he opened these airy volumes, fascinating him by a true natural magic. It was as if the curtains of the Past were drawn aside, and we looked mysteriously into a kindred Country, where dwelt our Fathers; inexpressibly dear to us, but which had seemed for ever hidden from our eyes."

Subjects selected to Illustrate

THE

FIRST VOLUME OF "BOSWELL'S LIFE OF JOHNSON."

- Frontispiece—Dr. Johnson at Lord Chesterfield's.
- Title — Portrait of Dr. Johnson, after Reynolds.
- Portrait and Autograph of James Boswell, Esq.
- Portrait of Edmund Malone.
- Birth-place of Dr. Johnson, at Lichfield.
- Lichfield Grammar School, 1725.
- Portrait of Sir Joshua Reynolds.
- Initial Letter—St. Mary's, Lichfield.
- Portrait of Michael Johnson.
- Parlour at Johnson's Birth-place.
- Dr. Sacheverel Preaching.
- Portrait of Mr. Hector.
- Cornelius Ford, from Hogarth's "Modern Midnight Conversation."
- Stourbridge School, Worcestershire.
- The Hall of Pembroke College, Oxford.
- Christ Church Meadow.
- Portrait of Mr. Jorden.
- Dr. Johnson's Room in Pembroke College.
- General View of Lichfield.
- Monument to Gilbert Walmesley in Lichfield Cathedral.
- Dr. Johnson's Residence at Birmingham.
- Portrait of Edward Cave, projector of the "Gentleman's Magazine."
- Portrait of Mrs. Johnson.
- View of Ediall House, Dr. Johnson's Academy, near Lichfield.
- Portrait of Mr. Colson.
- Dr. Johnson's Lodging in Exeter Street, Strand.
- View in Greenwich Park, 1737.
- Dr. Johnson's Lodging, next to the Golden Hart, Church street, Greenwich.
- Fac simile of part of the original MSS. of "IRENE."
- Saint John's Gate, Clerkenwell, 1737.
- Dr. Johnson's Lodging in Castle Street.
- Portraits of Dodsley the Publisher, and Richardson the Novelist.
- Portrait of W. Hogarth.
- Portrait of Dr. Birch.
- Portrait of Richard Savage.
- Portrait of Lady Macclesfield.
- Portrait of Lord Lovat.
- Portrait of Lord Chesterfield.
- Dr. Johnson's Residence in Gough Square.
- Interior of Drury Lane Theatre, 1749.
- Portraits of Garrick, Barry, Mrs. Cibber, and Mrs. Pritchard, the principal Actors in the Tragedy of "IRENE."
- The Green Room of Drury Lane Theatre.
- Portrait of Mrs. Ann Williams.
- Portrait of Mr. Francis Barber.
- Monument to Elizabeth, wife of Dr. Johnson, at Bromley Church, Kent.
- Portrait of Bennet Langton.
- Portrait of Topham Beauclerk.
- Portrait of Dr. Joseph Warton.
- Portrait of Colley Cibber.
- Portrait of Rev. Thomas Warton.
- View of Ellsfield, near Oxford.
- Ruins of the Abbeys of Oseney and Rewley, near Oxford.
- Portrait of Collins the Poet.
- Portrait of Millar the Bookseller.
- Portrait of Dr. Burney.
- Portrait of Mr. Strachan.
- View of Blackfriar's Bridge.
- Portrait of Mr. Joseph Baretti.
- Portrait of Lord Bute.
- View of the Garrison at Plymouth.
- Portrait of Thomas Sheridan.
- Portrait of Thomas Davis, the Actor and Bookseller.
- Dr. Johnson's Chambers, Inner Temple Lane.
- The Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street.
- Interior View of the Mitre.
- Scene of the Cock Lane Ghost's exploits.
- Portrait of Oliver Goldsmith.
- The Temple Stairs.
- View of Greenwich Hospital, the Park, &c.
- View of the Pool and the Isle of Dogs.
- Fleet Street in 1763.
- Interior of Harwich Church.
- View of Langton Hall, Lincolnshire.
- The Turk's Head, Gerrard Street, Soho.
- Portrait of Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore.
- Portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Thrale.
- Town residence of Mr. and Mrs. Thrale in Southwark.
- Country House of Mr. and Mrs. Thrale in Streatham.



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